NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.

Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 08 January, 2019

Wa[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] A. LL. B.
Vakil High Court

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS,

BY

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

3425
1933

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS

36680

IN ENGLAND,

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE

BY

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

1590

A NEW EDITION,

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. VII.

VV-7-64

OXFORD,

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

CXXXIX.

God
942.062
Edw/His
36680

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XIII. CONTINUED.

THE spring was now advanced, and the duke of York continued his importunity with the king, "that he might have his leave to repair to the "army." And thereupon his majesty called his council together, the queen his mother and his brother being likewise present. There his majesty declared "what his brother had long desired of "him; to which he had hitherto given no other "answer, than that he would think of it; and "before he could give any other, he thought it "necessary to receive their advice:" nor did his majesty in the least discover what he himself was inclined to. The duke then repeated what he had desired of the king; and said, "he thought he "asked nothing but what became him; if he did "not, he hoped the king would not deny it to "him, and that nobody would advise he should." The queen spoke not a word; and the king required

the lords to deliver their opinion; who all sat silent, expecting who would begin; there being no fixed rule of the board, but sometimes, according to the nature of the business, he who was first in place begun, at other times he who was last in quality; and when it required some debate before any opinion should be delivered, any man was at liberty to offer what he would. But after a long silence, the king commanded the chancellor of the exchequer to speak first. He said, "it could not "be expected, that he would deliver his opinion in "a matter that was so much too hard for him, till "he heard what others thought; at least, till the "question was otherwise stated than it yet seemed "to him to be." He said, "he thought the "council would not be willing to take it upon "them to advise that the duke of York, the next "heir to the crown, should go a volunteer into "the French army, and that the exposing himself "to so much danger, should be the effect of their "counsel who ought to have all possible tenderness "for the safety of every branch of the royal family; "but if the duke of York, out of his own princely "courage, and to attain experience in the art of "war, of which there was like to be so great use, "had taken a resolution to visit the army, and to "spend that campaign in it, and that the question "only was, whether the king should restrain him "from that expedition, he was ready to declare "his opinion, that his majesty should not; there "being a great difference between the king's advising him to go, which implies an approbation, and barely suffering him to do what his own "genius inclined him to." The king and queen

liked the stating of the question, as suiting best with the tenderness they ought to have; and the duke was as well pleased with it, since it left him at the liberty he desired; and the lords thought it safest for them: and so all were pleased; and much of the prejudice which the duke had entertained towards the chancellor was abated: and his royal highness, with the good liking of the French court, went to the army; where he was received by the marshal of Turenne, with all possible demonstration of respect; where, in a short time, he got the reputation of a prince of very signal courage, and to be universally beloved of the whole army by his affable behaviour.

The insupportable necessities of the king were now grown so notorious, that the French court was compelled to take notice of them; and thereupon, with some dry compliments for the smallness of the assignation in respect of the ill condition of their affairs, which indeed were not in any good posture, they settled an assignation of six thousand livres by the month upon the king, payable out of such a gabel; which, beginning six months after the king came thither, found too great a debt contracted to be easily satisfied out of such a monthly receipt, though it had been punctually complied with; which it never was. The queen, at his majesty's first arrival, had declared, "that she was not able to bear the charge "of the king's diet, but that he must pay one half "of the expense of her table, where both their "majesties eat, with the duke of York, and the "princess Henrietta," (which two were at the queen's charge till the king came thither, but from

that time, the duke of York was upon the king's account,) and the very first night's supper which the king eat with the queen, begun the account; and a moiety thereof was charged to the king: so that the first money that was received for the king upon his grant, was entirely stopped by sir Harry Wood, the queen's treasurer, for the discharge of his majesty's part of the queen's table, (which expense was first satisfied, as often as money could be procured,) and the rest for the payment of other debts contracted, at his first coming, for clothes and other necessaries, there being great care taken that nothing should be left to be distributed amongst his servants; the marquis of Ormond himself being compelled to put himself in pension, with the chancellor and some other gentlemen, with a poor English woman, the wife of one of the king's servants, at a pistole a week for his diet, and to walk the streets on foot, which was no honourable custom in Paris; whilst the lord Jermyn kept an excellent table for those who courted him, and had a coach of his own, and all other accommodations incident to the most full fortune; and if the king had the most urgent occasion for the use but of twenty pistoles, as sometimes he had, he could not find credit to borrow it; which he often had experiment of. Yet if there had not been as much care to take that from him which was his own, as to hinder him from receiving the supply assigned by the king of France, his necessities would not have been so extraordinary. For when the king went to Jersey in order to his journey into Ireland, and at the same time that he sent the chancellor of the exchequer into Spain, he sent likewise the lord

Colepepper into Moscow, to borrow money of that duke; and into Poland he sent Mr. Crofts upon the same errand. The former returned whilst the king was in Scotland; and the latter about the time that his majesty made his escape from Worcester. And both of them succeeded so well in their journey, that he who received least for his majesty's service had above ten thousand pounds over and above the expense of their journeys.

But, as if the king had been out of all possible danger to want money, the lord Jermyn had sent an express into Scotland, as soon as he knew what success the lord Colepepper had at Moscow, and found there were no less hopes from Mr. Crofts, and procured from the king (who could with more ease grant, than deny) warrants under his hand to both those ambassadors, to pay the monies they had received to several persons; whereof a considerable sum was made a present to the queen, more to the lord Jermyn, upon pretence of debts due to him, which were not diminished by that receipt, and all disposed of according to the modesty of the askers; whereof Dr. Goffe had eight hundred pounds for services he had performed, and, within few days after the receipt of it, changed his religion, and became one of the fathers of the oratory: so that, when the king returned in all that distress to Paris, he never received five hundred pistoles from the proceed of both those embassies; nor did any of those who were supplied by his bounty seem sensible of the obligation, or the more disposed to do him any service upon their own expense; of which the king was sensible enough, but resolved to bear

that and more, rather than, by entering into any expostulation with those who were faulty, to give any trouble to the queen.

The lord Jermyn, who, in his own judgment, was very indifferent in all matters relating to religion, was always of some faction that regarded it. He had been much addicted to the presbyterians from the time that there had been any treaties with the Scots, in which he had too much privity. And now, upon the king's return into France, he had a great design to persuade his majesty to go to the congregation at Charenton, to the end that he might keep up his interest in the presbyterian party; which he had no reason to believe would ever be able to do the king service, or willing, if they were able, without such odious conditions as they had hitherto insisted upon in all their overtures. The queen did not, in the least degree, oppose this, but rather seemed to countenance it, as the best expedient that might incline him, by degrees, to prefer the religion of the church of Rome. For though the queen had never, to this time, by herself, or by others with her advice, used the least means to persuade the king to change his religion, as well out of observation of the injunction laid upon her by the deceased king, as out of the conformity of her own judgment, which could not but persuade her that the change of his religion would infallibly make all his hopes of recovering England desperate; yet it is as true, that, from the king's return from Worcester, she did really despair of his being restored by the affections of his own subjects; and believed that it could never be brought to pass without a conjunction of catholic

princes on his behalf, and by an united force to restore him; and that such a conjunction would never be entered into, except the king himself became Roman catholic. Therefore from this time she was very well content that any attempts should be made upon him to that purpose; and, in that regard, wished that he would go to Charenton; which she well knew was not the religion he affected, but would be a little discountenance to the church in which he had been bred; and from which as soon as he could be persuaded in any degree to swerve, he would be more exposed to any other temptation. The king had not positively refused to gratify the ministers of that congregation; who, with great professions of duty, had besought him to do them that honour, before the chancellor of the exchequer came to him; in which it was believed, that they were the more like to prevail by the death of Dr. Steward; for whose judgment in matters of religion the king had reverence, by the earnest recommendation of his father: and he died after the king's return within fourteen days, with some trouble upon the importunity and artifice he saw used to prevail with the king to go to Charenton, though he saw no disposition in his majesty to yield to it.

The lord Jermyn still pressed it, "as a thing "that ought in policy and discretion to be done, to "reconcile that people, which was a great body in "France, to the king's service, which would draw "to him all the foreign churches, and thereby he "might receive considerable assistance." He wondered, he said, "why it should be opposed by any "man; since he did not wish that his majesty

" would discontinue his own devotions, according to " the course he had always observed; nor propose " that he should often repair thither, but only " sometimes, at least once, to shew that he did " look upon them as of the same religion with " him; which the church of England had always " acknowledged; and that it had been an instruc- " tion to the English ambassadors, that they should " keep a good correspondence with those of the " religion, and frequently resort to divine service " at Charenton; where they had always a pew " kept for them."

The chancellor of the exchequer dissuaded his majesty from going thither with equal passion; told him, " that, whatever countenance or favour " the crown or church of England had heretofore " shewed to those congregations, it was in a time " when they carried themselves with modesty and " duty towards both, and when they professed " great duty to the king, and much reverence to " that church; lamenting themselves, that it was " not in their power, by the opposition of the state, " to make their reformation so perfect as it was in " England. And by this kind of behaviour they " had indeed received the protection and counte- " nance from England as if they were of the same " religion, though, it may be, the original of that " countenance and protection proceeded from an- " other less warrantable foundation; which he was " sure would never find credit from his majesty. " But, whatever it was, that people now had unde- " served it from the king; for, as soon as the " troubles begun, the Hugonots of France had " generally expressed great malice to the late king,

" and very many of their preachers and ministers " had publicly and industriously justified the rebel- " lion, and prayed for the good success of it; and " their synod itself had in such a manner inveighed " against the church of England, that they, upon " the matter, professed themselves to be of another " religion; and inveighed against episcopacy, as if " it were inconsistent with the protestant religion. " That their great professor at their university of " Saumur, monsieur Amirant, who was looked upon " as a man of the most moderate spirit amongst " their ministers, had published an apology for the " general inclination of that party to the proceed- " ings of the parliament of England, lest it might " give some jealousy to their own king of their " inclination to rebellion, and of their opinion that " it was lawful for subjects to take up arms against " *their prince*; which, he said, could not be done " in France without manifest rebellion, and incur- " ring the displeasure of God for the manifest " breach of his commandments; because the king " of France is an absolute king, independent upon " any other authority. But that the constitution " of the kingdom of England was of another nature; " because the king there is subordinate to the par- " liament, which hath authority to raise arms for " the reformation of religion, or for the executing " the public justice of the kingdom against all " those who violate the laws of the nation, so that " the war might be just there, which in no case " could be warrantable in France."

The chancellor told the king, " that, after such " an indignity offered to him, and to his crown, " and since they had now made such a distinction

" between the episcopal and the presbyterian go-
" vernment, that they thought the professors were
" not of the same religion, his going to Charenton
" could not be without this effect, that it would be
" concluded every where, that his majesty had
" renounced the church of England, and betaken
" himself to that of Charenton, at least that he
" thought the one and the other to be indifferent;
" which would be one of the most deadly wounds
" to the church of England that it had yet ever
" suffered." These reasons prevailed so far with the king's own natural aversion from what had been proposed, that he declared positively, " he " would never go to Charenton;" which determination eased him from any farther application of that people. The reproach of this resolution was wholly charged upon the chancellor of the exchequer, as the implacable enemy of all presbyterians, and as the only man who diverted the king from having a good opinion of them: whereas in truth, the daily information he received from the king himself of their barbarous behaviour in Scotland towards him, and of their insupportable pride and pedantry in their manners, did confirm him in the judgment he had always made of their religion; and he was the more grievous to those of that profession, because they could not, as they used to do to all those who opposed and crossed them in that manner, accuse him of being popishly affected, and governed by the papists; to whom they knew he was equally odious; and the queen's knowing him to be most disaffected to her religion, made her willing to appear most displeased for his hindering the king from going to Charenton.

There was another accident, which fell out at this time, and which the chancellor of the exchequer foresaw would exceedingly increase the queen's prejudice to him; which he did very heartily desire to avoid, and to recover her majesty's favour by all the ways he could pursue with his duty; and did never, in the least degree, dispose his majesty to deny any thing to her which she owned the desire of. Lieutenant general Middleton, who had been taken prisoner after Worcester fight, after he was recovered of his wounds was sent prisoner to the Tower of London; where were likewise many noble persons of that nation, as the earl of Crawford, the earl of Lautherdale, and many others. But as they of the parliament had a greater reverence for Middleton than for any other of that nation, knowing him to be a man of great honour and courage, and much the best officer the Scots had, so they had a hatred of him proportionable; and they thought they had him at their mercy, and might proceed against him more warrantably for his life, than against their other prisoners; because he had heretofore, in the beginning of the war, served them; and though he had quitted their service at the same time when they cashiered the earl of Essex, and made their new model, and was at liberty to do what he thought best for himself, yet they resolved to free themselves from any farther apprehensions and fear of him: to that purpose they erected a new high court of justice, for the trial of some persons who had been troublesome to them, and especially Middleton and Massey.

This last, after he had escaped from Worcester, and travelled two or three days, found himself so

tormented and weakened by his wounds, that being near the seat of the earl of Stamford, whose lieutenant colonel he had been in the beginning of the war, and being well known to his lady, he chose to commit himself to her rather than to her husband; hoping, that in honour she would have found some means to preserve him. But the lady had only charity to cure his wounds, not courage to conceal his person; and such advertisements were given of him, that, as soon as he was fit to be removed, he was likewise sent to the Tower, and destined to be sacrificed by the high court of justice together with Middleton, for the future security of the commonwealth.

But now the presbyterian interest shewed itself, and doubtless, in enterprises of this nature, was very powerful; having in all places persons devoted to them, who were ready to obey their orders, though they did not pretend to be of their party. And the time approaching that they were sure Middleton was to be tried, that is, to be executed, they gave him so good and particular advertisement, that he took his leave of his friends in the Tower, and made his escape; and having friends enough to shelter him in London, after he had concealed himself there a fortnight or three weeks, that the diligence of the first examination and inquiry was over, he was safely transported into France. And within few days after, Massey had the same good fortune, to the grief and vexation of the very soul of Cromwell; who thirsted for the blood of those two persons.

When Middleton came to the king to Paris, he brought with him a little Scottish vicar, who was

known to the king, one Mr. Knox, who brought letters of credit to his majesty, and some propositions from his friends in Scotland, and other despatches from the lords in the Tower, with whom he had conferred after Middleton had escaped from thence. He brought the relation of the terror that was struck into the hearts of that whole nation by the severe proceedings of general Monk, to whose care Cromwell had committed the reduction of that kingdom, upon the taking of Dundee, where persons of all degrees and qualities were put to the sword for many hours after the town was entered, and all left to plunder; upon which all other places rendered. All men complained of the marquis of Argyle, who prosecuted the king's friends with the utmost malice, and protected and preserved the rest according to his desire. He gave the king assurance from the most considerable persons, who had retired into the Highlands, "that they would "never swerve from their duty; and that they "would be able, during the winter, to infest the "enemy by incursions into their quarters; and "that, if Middleton might be sent to them with "some supply of arms, they would have an army "ready against the spring, strong enough to meet "with Monk." He said, "he was addressed from "Scotland to the lords in the Tower, who did not "then know that Middleton had arrived in safety "with the king; and therefore they had com-"manded him, if neither Middleton nor the lord "Newburgh were about his majesty, that then he "should repair to the marquis of Ormond, and "desire him to present him to the king; but that, "having found both those lords there, he had made

" no farther application than to them, who had " brought him to his majesty." He told the king, " that both those in Scotland, and those in the " Tower, made it their humble request, or rather a " condition to his majesty; that, except it were " granted, they would no more think of serving " his majesty: the condition was, that whatever " should have relation to his service in Scotland, " and to their persons who were to venture their " lives in it, might not be communicated to the " queen, the duke of Buckingham, the lord Jermyn, " or the lord Wilmot. They professed all duty to " the queen, but they knew she had too good an " opinion of the marquis of Argyle; who would " infallibly come to know whatever was known to " either of the other."

The king did not expect that any notable service could be performed by his friends in Scotland for his advantage, or their own redemption; yet did not think it fit to seem to undervalue the professions and overtures of those who had, during his being amongst them, made all possible demonstration of affection and duty to him; and therefore resolved to grant any thing they desired; and so promised not to communicate any thing of what they proposed to the queen, or the other three lords. But since they proposed present despatches to be made of commissions and letters, he wished them to consider, whom they would be willing to trust in the performing that service. The next day they attended his majesty again, and desired, " that " all matters relating to Scotland might be con- " sulted by his majesty with the marquis of Or- " mond, the lord Newburgh, and the chancellor of

" the exchequer; and that all the despatches might " be made by the chancellor;" which the king consented to; and bid the lord Newburgh go with them to him, and let him know his majesty's pleasure. And thereupon the lord Newburgh brought Middleton to the chancellor; who had never seen his face before.

The marquis of Ormond and the chancellor of the exchequer believed that the king had nothing at this time to do but to be quiet, and that all his activity was to consist in carefully avoiding to do any thing, that might do him hurt, and to expect some blessed conjuncture from the amity of Christian princes, or some such revolution of affairs in England by their own discontents, and divisions amongst themselves, as might make it seasonable for his majesty again to shew himself. And therefore they proposed nothing to themselves but patiently to expect one of those conjunctures, and, in the mean time, so to behave themselves to the queen, that without being received into her trust and confidence, which they did not affect, they might enjoy her grace and good acceptation. But the designation of them to this Scottish intrigue, crossed all this imagination, and shook that foundation of peace and tranquillity, upon which they had raised their present hopes: besides that the chancellor was not without some natural prejudice to the ingenuity and sincerity of that nation, and therefore he went presently to the king, and besought him with earnestness, " that he would not " lay that burden upon him, or engage him in any " part of the counsels of that people." He put his majesty in mind of " the continued avowed

" jealousy and displeasure which that whole party " in that nation had ever had against him; and " that his majesty very well knew, that those noble " persons who served him best when he was in " Scotland, and in whose affection and fidelity he " had all possible satisfaction, had all imaginable " prejudice against him, and would be troubled " when they should hear that all their secrets were " committed to him." He told his majesty, " this " trust would for ever deprive him of all hope of " the queen's favour; who could not but discern it " within three or four days, and, by the frequent " resort of the Scottish Levite to him," (who had the vanity to desire long conferences with him,) " that there was some secret affair in hand which " was kept from her; and she would as easily dis- " cover, that the chancellor was privy to it, by his " reading papers to his majesty, and his signing " them; and would from thence conclude, that he " had persuaded him to exclude her majesty from " that trust; which she would never forgive." Upon the whole, he renewed his importunity, " that he " might be excused from this confidence."

The king heard him with patience and attention enough; and confessed, " that he had reason not " to be solicitous for that employment; but he " wished him to consider withal, that he must " either undertake it, or that his majesty must in " plain terms reject the correspondence, and by it " declare that he would no further consider Scot- " land as his kingdom, and the people as his sub- " jects; which, he said, he thought he would not " advise him to do. If his majesty entertained it, " it could not be imagined that all those transac-

" tions could pass through his own hand, or, if " they could, his being shut up so long alone would " make the same discovery. Whom then should " he trust? The lord Newburgh, it was very true, " was a very honest man, and worthy of any trust; " but he was not a counsellor, and nothing could " be so much wondered at, as his frequent being " shut up with him; and more, his bringing any " papers to him to be signed. As to the general " prejudice which he conceived was against him " by that nation," his majesty told him, " the " nation was much altered since he had to do with " them, and that no men were better loved by " them now than they who had from the beginning " been faithful to his father and himself." To which he added, " that Middleton had the least in " him, of any infirmities most incident to that " nation, that he knew: and that he would find " him a man of great honour and ingenuity, with " whom he would be well pleased." His majesty said, " he would frankly declare to his mother, " that he had received some intelligence out of " Scotland, and that he was obliged, and had given " his word to those whose lives would be forfeited " if known, that he would not communicate it with " any but those who were chosen by themselves; " and, after this, she could not be offended with " his reservation:" and concluded with a gracious conjuration and command to the chancellor, " that " he should cheerfully submit, and undergo that " employment; which, he assured him, should " never be attended with prejudice or inconveni- " ence to him." In this manner he submitted himself to the king's disposal, and was trusted

throughout that affair; which had several stages in the years following, and did produce the inconveniences he had foreseen, and rendered him so unacceptable to the queen, that she easily entertained those prejudices against him, which those she most trusted were always ready to infuse into her, and under which he was compelled to bear many hardships.

This uncomfortable condition of the king was rendered yet more desperate, by the straits and necessities into which the French court was about this time plunged: so that they who hitherto had shewed no very good will to assist the king, were now become really unable to do it. The parliament of Paris had behaved themselves so refractorily to all their king's commands, pressed so importunately for the liberty of the princes, and so impatiently for the remove of the cardinal, that the cardinal was at last compelled to persuade the queen to consent to both: and so himself rid to Havre de Grace, and delivered the queen's warrant to set them at liberty, and after a short conference with the prince of Condé, he continued his own journey towards Germany, and passed in disguise, with two or three servants, till he came near Cologne, and there he remained at a house belonging to that elector.

When the princes came to Paris, they had received great welcome from the parliament and the city; and instead of closing with the court, which it was thought they would have done, the wound was widened without any hope of reconciliation: so that the king and queen regent withdrew from thence; the town was in arms; and fire

and sword denounced against the cardinal; his goods sold at an outcry; and a price set upon his head; and all persons who professed any duty to their king, found themselves very unsafe in Paris. During all this time the queen of England and the king, with their families, remained in the Louvre, not knowing whither to go, nor well able to stay there; the assignments, which had been made for their subsistence, not being paid them: and the loose people of the town begun to talk of the duke of York's being in arms against them. But the duke of Orleans, under whose name all the disorders were committed, and the prince of Condé, visited our king and queen with many professions of civility; but those were shortly abated likewise, when the French king's army came upon one side of the town, and the Spanish, with the duke of Lorrain's, upon the other. The French army thought they had the enemy upon an advantage, and desired to have a battle with them; which the other declined; all which time, the court had an underhand treaty with the duke of Lorrain; and, upon a day appointed, the French king sent to the king of England, to desire him to confer with the duke of Lorrain; who lay then with his army within a mile of the town. There was no reason visible for that desire, nor could it be conceived, that his majesty's interposition could be of moment: yet his majesty knew not how to refuse it; but immediately went to the place assigned; where he found both armies drawn up in battalia within cannon shot of each other. Upon his majesty's coming to the duke of Lorrain, the treaty was again revived, and messages sent between the

duke and marshal Turenne. In fine, the night approaching, both armies drew off from their ground, and his majesty returned to the Louvre; and before the next morning, the treaty was finished between the court and the duke of Lorrain; and he marched away with his whole army towards Flanders, and left the Spaniards to support the parliament against the power of the French army; which advanced upon them with that resolution, that, though they defended themselves very bravely, and the prince of Condé did the office of a brave general in the Fauxbourg St. Marceaux, and at the port St. Antoine, in which places many gallant persons of both sides were slain, they had been all cut off, if the city had not been prevailed with to suffer them to retire into it; which they had no mind to do. And thereupon the king's army retired to their old post, four leagues off, and attended future advantages: the king having a very great party in the parliament and the city, which abhorred the receiving and entertaining the Spaniards into their bowels.

This retreat of the duke of Lorrain broke the neck of the prince of Condé's design. He knew well he should not be long able to retain the duke of Orleans from treating with the court, or keep the Parisians at his devotion; and that the duke de Beaufort, whom they had made governor of Paris, would be weary of the contention. For the present, they were all incensed against the duke of Lorrain; and were well enough contented that the people should believe, that this defection in the duke was wrought by the activity and interposition of the king of England; and they who did know

that his interest could not have produced that effect, could not tell how to interpret his majesty's journey to speak with the duke in so unseasonable a conjuncture: so that, as the people expressed, and used all the insolent reproaches against the English court at the Louvre, and loudly threatened to be revenged, so neither the duke of Orleans, nor the prince of Condé, made any visit there, or expressed the least civility towards it. In truth, our king and queen did not think themselves out of danger, nor stirred out of the Louvre for many days, until the French court thought themselves obliged to provide for their security, by advising the king and queen to remove, and assigned St. Germain's to them for their retreat. Then his majesty sent to the duke of Orleans, and prince of Condé, "that their purpose was to leave the "town:" upon which there was a guard that attended them out of the town in the evening; which could not be got to be in readiness till then; and they were shortly after met by some troops of horse sent by the French king, which conducted them by torch-light to St. Germain's; where they arrived about midnight; and remained there without any disturbance, till Paris was reduced to that king's obedience.

It is a very hard thing for people who have nothing to do, to forbear doing something which they ought not to do; and the king might well hope that, since he had nothing else left to enjoy, he might have enjoyed quiet and repose; and that a court which had nothing to give, might have been free from faction and ambition; whilst every man had composed himself to bear the ill fortune

he was reduced to for conscience sake, which every man pretended to be his case, with submission and content, till it should please God to buoy up the king from the lowness he was in; who in truth suffered much more than any body else. But whilst there are courts in the world, emulation and ambition will be inseparable from them; and kings who have nothing to give, shall be pressed to promise; which oftentimes proves more inconvenient and mischievous than any present gifts could be, because they always draw on more of the same title and presence; and as they who receive the favours, are not the more satisfied, so they who are not paid in the same kind, or who, out of modesty and discretion, forbear to make such suits, are grieved and offended to see the vanity and presumption of bold men so unseasonably gratified and encouraged.

The king found no benefit [of this kind] in being stripped of all his dominions, and all his power. Men were as importunate, as hath been said before, for honours, and offices, and revenues, as if they could have taken possession of them as soon as they had been granted, though but by promise: and men who would not have had the presumption to have asked the same thing, if the king had been in England, thought it very justifiable to demand it, because he was not there; since there were so many hazards that they should never live to enjoy what he promised. The vexations he underwent of this kind cannot be expressed; and whosoever succeeded not in his unreasonable desires, imputed it only to the ill nature of the chancellor of the exchequer; and concluded, that he

alone obstructed it, because they always received very gracious answers from his majesty: so that though his wants were as visible and notorious as any man's, and it appeared he got nothing for himself, he paid very dear in his peace and quiet for the credit and interest he was thought to have with his master.

The lord Wilmot had, by the opportunity of his late conversation with the king in his escape, drawn many kind expressions from his majesty; and he thought he could not be too solicitous to procure such a testimony of his grace and favour, as might distinguish him from other men, and publish the esteem the king had of him. Therefore he importuned his majesty that he would make him an earl, referring the time of his creation to his majesty's own choice: and the modesty of this reference prevailed; the king well knowing, that the same honour would be desired on the behalf of another, by one whom he should be unwilling to deny. But since it was not asked for the present, he promised to do it in a time that should appear to be convenient for his service.

There were projects of another kind, which were much more troublesome; in which the projectors still considered themselves in the first place, and what their condition might prove to be by the success. The duke of York was so well pleased with the fatigue of the war, that he thought his condition very agreeable; but his servants did not like that course of life so well, at least desired so far to improve it, that they might reap some advantages to themselves out of his overplus. Sir John Berkley was now, upon the death of the lord

Byron, by which the duke was deprived of a very good servant, become the superior of his family, and called himself, without any authority for it, *Intendant des affaires de son altesse royale;* had the management of all his receipts and disbursements; and all the rest depended upon him. He desired, by all ways, to get a better revenue for his master, than the small pension he received from France; and thought no expedient so proper for him, as a wife of a great and noble fortune; which he presumed he should have the managing of.

There was then a lady in the town, mademoiselle de Longueville, the daughter of the duke de Longueville by his first wife, by whom she was to inherit a very fair revenue, and had title to a very considerable sum of money, which her father was obliged to account for: so that she was looked upon as one of the greatest and richest marriages in France, in respect of her fortune; in respect of her person not at all attractive, being a lady of a very low stature, and that stature no degree straight. This lady sir John designed for the duke; and treated with those ladies who were nearest to her, and had been trusted with the education of her, before he mentioned it to his royal highness. Then he persuaded him, "that all hopes in England "were desperate: that the government was so "settled there, that it could never be shaken; so "that his highness must think of no other fortune "than what he should make by his sword: that "he was now upon the stage where he must act "out his life, and that he should do well to think "of providing a civil fortune for himself, as well "as a martial; which could only be by marriage:"

and then spoke of mademoiselle de Longueville, and made her fortune at least equal to what it was; "which," he said, "when once his highness was "possessed of, he might sell; and thereby raise "money to pay an army to invade England, and so "might become the restorer of the king his "brother: this he thought very practicable, if his "highness seriously and heartily would endeavour "it." The duke was not so far broken with age as to have an aversion from marriage, and the consideration of the fortune, and the circumstances which might attend it, made it not the less acceptable; yet he made no other answer to it, "than "that he must first know the king's and queen's "judgment of it, before he could take any resolu-"tion what to do." Upon which sir John undertook, with his highness's approbation, to propose it to their majesties himself, and accordingly first spoke with the queen, enlarging on all the benefit which probably might attend it.

It was generally believed, that the first overture and attempt had not been made without her majesty's privity and approbation; for the lord Jermyn had been no less active in the contrivance than sir John Berkley: yet her majesty refused to deliver any opinion in it, till she knew the king's: and so at last, after the young lady herself had been spoken to, his majesty was informed of it, and his approbation desired; with which he was not well pleased; and yet was unwilling to use his authority to obstruct what was looked upon as so great a benefit and advantage to his brother; though he did not dissemble his opinion of their presumption who undertook to enter upon treaties

of that nature, with the same liberty as if it concerned only their own kindred and allies: however, he was very reserved in saying what he thought of it. Whilst his majesty was in deliberation, all the ways were taken to discover what the chancellor of the exchequer's judgment was; and the lord Jermyn spoke to him of it, as a matter that would not admit any doubt on the king's part, otherwise than from the difficulty of bringing it to pass, in regard the lady's friends would not without great difficulty be induced to give their consent. But the chancellor could not be drawn to make any other answer, than, "that it was a subject so much "above his comprehension, and the consequences "might be such, that he had not the ambition to "desire to be consulted with upon it; and that "less than the king's command should not induce "him to enter upon the discourse of it."

It was not long before the queen sent for him; and seeming to complain of the importunity, which was used towards her in that affair, and as if it were not grateful to her, asked him, what his opinion of it was? To which he answered, "that he "did not understand the convenience of it so well, "as to judge whether it were like to be of benefit "to the duke of York: but he thought, that neither "the king, nor her majesty, should be willing that "the heir apparent of the crown should be married "before the king himself; or that it should be in "any woman's power to say, that, if there were "but one person dead, she should be a queen:" with which her majesty, who no doubt did love the king with all possible tenderness, seemed to be moved, as if it had been a consideration she had

not thought of before; and said, with some warmth, "that she would never give her consent that it "should be so." However, this argument was quickly made known to the duke of York, and several glosses made upon it, to the reproach of the chancellor: yet it made such an impression, that there were then as active endeavours to find a convenient wife for the king himself, and mademoiselle, the daughter of the duke of Orleans, by his first wife, who, in the right of her mother, was already possessed of the fair inheritance of the duchy of Mompensier, was thought of. To this the queen was much inclined, and the king himself not averse; both looking too much upon the relief it might give to his present necessities, and the convenience of having a place to repose in, as long as the storm should continue. The chancellor of the exchequer had no thought, by the conclusion he had made in the other overture, to have drawn on this proposition; and the marquis of Ormond and he were no less troubled with this, than with the former; which made them be looked upon as men of contradiction.

They represented to the king, "that, as it could "administer only some competency towards his "present subsistence, so it might exceedingly "prejudice his future hopes, and alienate the affec- "tions of his friends in England: that the lady "was elder than he by some years; which was an "exception amongst private persons; and had "been observed not to be prosperous to kings: "that his majesty must expect to be pressed to "those things in point of religion which he could "never consent to; and yet he should undergo

" the same disadvantage as if he had consented, " by many men's believing he had done so." They besought him " to set his heart entirely upon the " recovery of England, and to indulge to nothing " that might reasonably obstruct that, either by " making him less intent upon it, or by creating " new difficulties in the pursuing it." His majesty assured them, " that his heart was set upon nothing " else; and, if he had inclination to this marriage, " it was because he believed it might much facili- " tate the other: that he looked not upon her " fortune, which was very great, as an annual " support to him, but as a stock that should be at " his disposal; by sale whereof he might raise " money enough to raise a good army to attempt " the recovery of his kingdoms: and that he would " be well assured, that it should be in his power to " make that use of it, before he would be engaged " in the treaty: that he had no apprehension of " the pressures which would be made in matters of " religion; because, if the lady did once consent " to the marriage, she would affect nothing but " what might advance the recovery of his do- " minions; which she would quickly understand " any unreasonable concessions in religion could " never do." In a word, his majesty discovered enough to let them see that he stood very well inclined to the overture itself; which gave them trouble, as a thing which, in many respects, was like to prove very inconvenient.

But they were quickly freed from that apprehension. The lady carried herself in that manner, on the behalf of the prince of Condé, and so offensively to the French court, having given fire herself to

the cannon in the Bastile upon the king at the port St. Antoine, and done so many reproof-full things against the French king and queen, that they no sooner heard of this discourse, but they quickly put an end to it; the cardinal having long resolved, that our king should never owe any part of his restitution to any countenance or assistance he should receive from France; and, from the same conclusion, the like end was put to all overtures which had concerned the duke of York and the other lady.

There was, shortly after, an unexpected accident, that seemed to make some alteration in the affairs of Christendom; which many very reasonably believed, might have proved advantageous to the king. The parliament, as soon as they had settled their commonwealth, and had no enemy they feared, had sent ambassadors to their sister republic, the States of the United Provinces, to invite them to enter into a stricter alliance with them, and, upon the matter, to be as one commonwealth, and to have one interest. They were received in Holland with all imaginable respect, and as great expressions made, as could be, of an equal desire that a firm union might be established between the two commonwealths: and, for the forming thereof, persons were appointed to treat with the ambassadors; which was looked upon as a matter that would easily succeed, since the prince of Orange, who could have given powerful obstructions in such cases, was now dead, and all those who adhered to him discountenanced, and removed from places of trust and power in all the provinces, and his son, an infant, born after the death of his

father, at the mercy of the States even for his support; the two dowagers, his mother and grandmother, having great jointures out of the estate, and the rest being liable to the payment of vast debts. In the treaty, Saint-John, who had the whole trust of the embassy, being very powerful in the parliament, and the known confident of Cromwell, pressed such a kind of union as must disunite them from all their other allies: so that, for the friendship of England, they must lose the friendship of all other princes, and yet lose many other advantages in trade, which they enjoyed, and which they saw the younger and more powerful commonwealth would in a short time deprive them of. This the States could not digest, and used all the ways they could to divert them from insisting upon so unreasonable conditions; and made many large overtures and concessions, which had never been granted by them to the greatest kings, and were willing to quit some advantages they had enjoyed by all the treaties with the crown of England, and to yield other considerable benefits which they always before denied to grant.

But this would not satisfy, nor would the ambassadors recede from any particular they had proposed: so that, after some months' stay, during which time they received many affronts from some English, and from others, they returned with great presents from the States, but without any effect by the treaty, or entering into any terms of alliance, and with the extreme indignation of Saint-John; which he manifested as soon as he returned to the parliament; who, disdaining likewise to find themselves undervalued, (that is, not valued above all

the world besides,) presently entered upon counsels how they might discountenance and control the trade of Holland, and increase their own.

Hereupon they made that ordinance, that "inhibits all foreign ships from bringing in any merchandise or commodities into England, but such as were the proceed or growth of their own country, upon the penalty of forfeiture of all such ships." This indeed concerned all other countries; but it did, upon the matter, totally suppress all trade with Holland, which had very little merchandise of the growth of their own country, but had used to bring in their ships the growth of all other kingdoms in the world; wine from France and Spain, spices from the Indies, and all commodities from all other countries; which they must now do no more. The Dutch ambassador expostulated this matter very warmly, "as a breach of commerce and amity, which could not consist with the peace between the two nations; and that his masters could not look upon it otherwise than as a declaration of war." The parliament answered him superciliously, "that his masters might take it in what manner they pleased; but they knew what was best for their own state, and would not repeal laws to gratify their neighbours;" and caused the act to be executed with the utmost rigour and severity.

The United Provinces now discerned, that they had raised an enemy that was too powerful for them, and that would not be treated as the crown had been. However, they could not believe it possible, that in the infancy of their republic, and when their government was manifestly odious to

all the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, and the people generally weary of the taxes and impositions upon the nation for the support of their land-armies, the parliament would venture to increase those taxes and impositions proportionably to maintain a new war at sea, at so vast an expense, as could not be avoided; and therefore that they only made show of this courage to amuse and terrify them. However, at the spring, they set out a fleet stronger than of course they used to do; which made no impression upon the English; who never suspected that the Dutch durst enter into a war with them. Besides that they were confident no such counsel and resolution could be taken on a sudden, and without their having first notice of it, they having several of the States General, and more of the States of Holland, very devoted to them. And therefore they increased not their expense, but sent out their usual fleet for the guard of the coast at their season, and with no other instructions than they had been accustomed to.

The council of the admiralty of Holland, which governed the maritime affairs, without communication with the States General, gave their instructions to the admiral Van Trump, "that when he "met any of the English ships of war, he should "not strike to them, nor shew them any other "respect than what they received from them; and "if the English expostulated the matter, they "should answer frankly, that the respect they had "formerly shewed upon those encounters, was be-"cause the ships were the king's, and for the good "intelligence they had with the crown; but they "had no reason to continue the same in this alter-

ation of government, except there were some stipulation between them to that purpose: and if this answer did not satisfy, but that force was used towards them, they should defend themselves with their utmost vigour." These instructions were very secret, and never suspected by the English commanders; who had their old instructions to oblige all foreign vessels to strike sail to them; which had never been refused by any nation.

It was about the beginning of May in the year 1652, that the Dutch fleet, consisting of above forty sail, under the command of Van Trump, rode at anchor in Dover road, being driven by a strong wind, as they pretended, from the Flanders coast, when the English fleet, under the command of Blake, of a much less number, appeared in view; upon which the Dutch weighed anchor, and put out to sea, without striking their flag; which Blake observing, caused three guns to be fired without any ball. It was then observed, that there was an express ketch came, at the very time, from Holland, on board their admiral; and it was then conceived, that he had, by that express, received more positive orders to fight; for, upon the arrival of that express, he tacked about, and bore directly towards the English fleet; and the three guns were no sooner fired, but, in contempt of the advertisement, he discharged one single gun from his poop, and hung out a red flag; and came up to the English admiral, and gave him a broadside; with which he killed many of his men, and hurt his ship. With which, though Blake was surprised, as not expecting such an assault, he deferred not to give him the

same rude salutation; and so both fleets were forthwith engaged in a very fierce encounter; which continued for the space of four hours, till the night parted them, after the loss of much blood on both sides. On the part of the Dutch, they lost two ships, whereof one was sunk, and the other taken, with both the captains, and near two hundred prisoners. On the English side there were many slain, and more wounded, but no ship lost, nor officer of name. When the morning appeared, the Dutch were gone to their coast. And thus the war was entered into, before it was suspected in England.

With what consideration soever the Dutch had embarked themselves in this sudden enterprise, it quickly appeared they had taken very ill measures of the people's affections. For the news of this conflict no sooner arrived in Holland, but there was the most general consternation, amongst all sorts of men, that can be imagined; and the States themselves were so much troubled at it, that, with marvellous expedition, they despatched two extraordinary ambassadors into England; by whom they protested, "that the late unhappy engagement be-
"tween the fleets of the two commonwealths had
"happened without their knowledge, and contrary
"to the desire of the lords the States General:
"that they had received the fatal tidings of so rash
"an attempt and action, with amazement and asto-
"nishment; and that they had immediately entered
"into consultation, how they might best close this
"fresh bleeding wound, and to avoid the farther
"effusion of Christian blood, so much desired by
"the enemies of both states: and therefore they

" most earnestly desired them, by their mutual " concurrence in religion, and by their mutual love " of liberty, that nothing might be done with pas- " sion and heat; which might widen the breach; " but that they might speedily receive such an an- " swer, that there might be no farther obstruction " to the trade of both commonwealths."

To which this answer was presently returned to them, " that the civility which they had always " shewed towards the States of the United Pro- " vinces was so notorious, that nothing was more " strange than the ill return they had made to " them: that the extraordinary preparations which " they had made, of a hundred and fifty ships, " without any apparent necessity, and the instruc- " tions which had been given to their seamen, had " administered too much cause to believe, that the " lords the States General of the United Provinces " had a purpose to usurp the known right which " the English have to the seas, and to destroy their " fleets; which, under the protection of the Al- " mighty, are their walls and bulwarks; that so " they might be exposed to the invasion of any " powerful enemy: therefore they thought them- " selves obliged to endeavour, by God's assistance, " to seek reparation for the injuries and damage " they had already received, and to prevent the " like for the future: however, they should never " be without an intention and desire, that some " effectual means might be found to establish a " good peace, union, and right understanding " between the two nations."

With this haughty answer they vigorously prosecuted their revenge, and commanded Blake pre-

sently to sail to the northward; it being then the season of the year for the great fisheries of the Dutch upon the coasts of Scotland, and the isles of Orkney, (by the benefit whereof they drive a great part of their trade over Europe;) where he now found their multitude of fishing boats, guarded by twelve ships of war; all which, with the fish they had made ready, he brought away with him as good prize.

When Blake was sent to the north, sir George Ayscue, [being just returned from the West Indies,] was sent with another part of the fleet to the south; who, at his very going out, met with thirty sail of their merchants between Dover and Calais; a good part whereof he took or sunk; and forced the rest to run on shore upon the French coast; which is very little better than being taken. From thence he stood westward; and near Plymouth, in the middle of August, with thirty sail of men of war, he engaged the whole Dutch fleet, consisting of sixty ships of war, and thirty merchants. It was near four of the clock in the afternoon when both fleets begun to engage, so that the night quickly parted them; yet not before two of the Holland ships of war were sunk, and most of the men lost; the Dutch in that action applying themselves most to spoil the tackling and sails of the English; in which they had so good success, that the next morning they were not able to give them farther chase, till their sails and rigging could be repaired. But no day passed without the taking and bringing in many and valuable Dutch ships into the ports of England, which, having begun their voyages before any notice given to them of the war, were making

haste home without any fear of their security: so that, there being now no hope of a peace by the mediation of their ambassadors, who could not prevail in any thing they proposed, they returned; and the war was proclaimed on either side, as well as prosecuted.

The king thought he might very reasonably hope to reap some benefit and advantage from this war, so briskly entered upon on both sides; and when he had sat still till the return of the Dutch ambassadors from London, and that all treaties were given over, he believed it might contribute to his ends, if he made a journey into Holland, and made such propositions upon the place as he might be advised to: but when his majesty imparted this design to his friends there, who did really desire to serve him, he was very warmly dissuaded from coming thither; and assured, "that it was so far "from being yet seasonable, that it would more "advance a peace than any thing else that could "be proposed; and would, for the present, bring "the greatest prejudice to his sister, and to the "affairs of his nephew the prince of Orange, that "could be imagined."

The king hereupon took a resolution to make an attempt which could do him no harm, if it did not produce the good he desired. The Dutch ambassador then resident at Paris, monsieur Borrel, who had been pensioner of Amsterdam, was very much devoted to the king's service, having been formerly ambassador in England, and had always dependence upon the princes of Orange successively. He communicated in all things with great freedom with the chancellor of the exchequer; who visited him con-

stantly once a week, and received advertisements and advices from him, and the ambassador frequently came to his lodging. The king, upon conference only with the marquis of Ormond and the chancellor, and enjoining them secresy, caused a paper to be drawn up; in which he declared, "that he had very good reason to believe, that "there were many officers and seamen engaged in "the service of the English fleet, who undertook "that service in hope to find a good opportunity "to serve his majesty; and that, if the Dutch were "willing to receive him, he would immediately put "himself on board their fleet, without requiring "any command, except of such ships only, as, upon "their notice of his being there, should repair to "him out of the rebels' fleet: by this means," he presumed, "he should be able much to weaken "their naval power, and to raise divisions in the "kingdom, by which the Dutch would receive "benefit and advantage." Having signed this paper, he sent the chancellor with it open, to shew to the Dutch ambassador, and to desire him to send it enclosed in his letter to the States. The ambassador was very much surprised with it, and made some scruple of sending it, lest he might be suspected to have advised it. For they were extremely jealous of him for his affection to the king, and for his dependence upon the house of Orange. In the end, he desired "the king would enclose it in a "letter to him, and oblige him to send it to the "States General:" which was done accordingly; and he sent it by the post to the States.

The war had already made the councils of the States less united than they had been, and the

party that was known to be inclined to the prince of Orange recovered courage, and joined with those who were no friends to the war; and, when this message from the king was read, magnified the king's spirit in making this overture, and wished that an answer of very humble thanks and acknowledgment might be returned to his majesty. They said, "no means ought to be neglected that might "abate the pride and power of the enemy:" and as soon as the people heard of it, they thought it reasonable to accept the king's offer. De Wit, who was pensioner of Holland, and had the greatest influence upon their counsels, had no mind to have any conjunction with the king; which, he foresaw, must necessarily introduce the pretences of the prince of Orange, to which he was an avowed and declared enemy. He told them, "indeed it was a "very generous offer of the king; but if they "should accept it, they could never recede from "his interest; which, instead of putting an end to "the war, of which they were already weary, "would make it without end, and would be the "ruin of their state: that, whilst they were free "from being engaged in any interest but their "own, they might reasonably hope that both sides "would be equally weary of the war, and then a "peace would easily ensue; which they should "otherwise put out of their own power;" so that thanks were returned to the king for his good will; and they pursued their own method in their counsels, and were much superior to those who were of another opinion, desiring nothing so much, as to make a peace upon any conditions.

Nor can it appear very wonderful, that the Dutch

made show of so much phlegm in this affair, when the very choler and pride of the French was, about the same time, so humbled by the spirit of the English, that, though they took their ships every day, and made them prize, and had now seized upon their whole fleet that was going to the relief of Dunkirk, (that was then closely besieged by the Spaniard, and, by the taking that fleet, was delivered into their hands,) yet the French would not be provoked to be angry with them, or to express any inclination to the king; but sent an ambassador, which they had not before done, to expostulate very civilly with the parliament for having been so unneighbourly, but in truth to desire their friendship upon what terms they pleased; the cardinal fearing nothing so much, as that the Spaniard would make such a conjunction with the new commonwealth, as should disappoint and break all his designs.

The insupportable losses which the Dutch every day sustained by the taking their merchants' ships, and their ships of war, and the total obstruction of their trade, broke their hearts, and increased their factions and divisions at home. All the seas were covered with the English fleets; which made no distinctions of seasons, but were as active in the winter as the summer; and engaged the Dutch upon any inequality of number. [The Dutch having been beaten in the month of October, and Blake having received a brush from them in the month of December,] in the month of February, the most dangerous season of the year, they having appointed a rendezvous of about one hundred and fifty merchantmen, sent a fleet of above one hundred sail of

men of war to convoy them; and Blake, with a fleet much inferior in number, engaged them in a very sharp battle from noon till the night parted them: which disposed them to endeavour to preserve themselves by flight; but, in the morning, they found that the English had attended them so close, that they were engaged again to fight, and so unprosperously, that, after the loss of above two thousand men, who were thrown overboard, besides a multitude hurt, they were glad to leave fifty of their merchantmen to the English, that they might make their flight the more securely.

This last loss made them send again to the parliament to desire a peace; who rejected the overture, as they pretended, "for want of formality," (for they always pretended a desire of an honourable peace,) the address being made only by the States of Holland and West-Friezland, the States General being at that time not assembled. It was generally believed, that this address from Holland was not only with the approbation, but by the direction of Cromwell; who had rather consented to those particulars, which were naturally like to produce that war, to gratify Saint-John, (who was inseparable from him in all his other counsels, and was incensed by the Dutch,) than approved the resolution. And now he found, by the charge of the engagements had already passed on both sides, what an insupportable charge that war must be attended with. Besides, he well discerned that all parties, friends and foes, presbyterians, independents, levellers, were all united as to the carrying on the war; which could proceed from nothing, but that the excess of the expense might make it

necessary to disband a great part of the land army (of which there appeared no use) to support the navy; which they could not now be without. Nor had he authority to place his own creatures there, all the officers thereof being nominated and appointed solely by the parliament: so that, when this address was made by the Dutch, he set up his whole rest and interest, that it might be well accepted, and a treaty thereupon entered into; which when he could not bring to pass, he laid to heart; and deferred not long, as will appear, to take vengeance upon the parliament with a witness, and by a way they least thought of.

Though Cromwell was exercised with these contradictions and vexations at home, by the authority of the parliament, he found not the least opposition from abroad. He was more absolute in the other two kingdoms, more feared, and more obeyed, than any king had ever been; and all the dominions belonging to the crown owned no other subjection than to the commonwealth of England. The isles of Guernsey, and Jersey, were reduced; the former presently after the battle of Worcester; and the other, after the king's return to Paris; sir George Carteret having well defended Jersey as long as he could, and being so overpowered that he could no longer defend the island, he retired into castle Elizabeth; which he had well fortified, and provided with all things necessary for a siege; presuming that, by the care and diligence of the lord Jermyn, who was governor thereof, he should receive supplies of men and provisions, as he should stand in need of them; as he might easily have done in spite of any power of the parliament by

sea or land. But it had been the principal reason that Cromwell had hitherto kept the better quarter with the cardinal, lest the bait of those two islands, which the king could have put into his hands when he would, should tempt him to give his majesty any assistance. But the king was so strict and punctual in his care of the interest of England, when he seemed to be abandoned by it, that he chose rather to suffer those places of great importance to fall into Cromwell's power, than to deposit them, upon any conditions, into French hands; which, he knew, would never restore them to the just owner, what obligations soever they entered into.

When that castle had been besieged three months, and the enemy could not approach nearer to plant their ordnance than, at least, half an English mile, the sea encompassing it round more than so far from any land, and it not being possible for any of their ships to come within such a distance, they brought notwithstanding mortar pieces of such an incredible greatness, and such as had never been before seen in this part of the world, that from the highest point of the hill, near St. Hilary's, they shot granadoes of a vast bigness into the castle, and beat down many houses; and, at last, blowed up a great magazine, where most of the provision of victuals lay; and killed many men. Upon which sir George Carteret sent an express to give the king an account of the condition he was in, and to desire a supply of men and provisions; which it being impossible for his majesty to procure, he sent him orders to make the best conditions he could; which he shortly after did; and

came himself to Paris, to give the king a larger information of all that had passed in that affair; and afterwards remained in France under many mortifications, by the power and prosecution of Cromwell, till the king's happy restoration.

All the foreign plantations had submitted to the yoke without a blow; and indeed without any other damage or inconvenience, than the having citizens and inferior persons put to govern them, instead of gentlemen, who had been intrusted by the king in those places. New England had been too much allied to all the conspiracies and combinations against the crown, not to be very well pleased that men of their own principles prevailed; and settled a government themselves were delighted with. The Barbadoes, which was much the richest plantation, was principally inhabited by men who had retired thither only to be quiet, and to be free from the noise and oppressions in England, and without any ill thoughts towards the king; many of them having served him with fidelity and courage during the war; and, that being ended, made that island their refuge from farther prosecutions. But having now gotten good estates there, (as it is incredible to what fortunes men raised themselves in few years, in that plantation,) they were more willing to live in subjection to that government at that distance, than to return into England, and be liable to the penalties of their former transgressions; which, upon the articles of surrender, they were indemnified for: nor was there any other alteration there, than the removing the lord Willoughby of Parham, (who was, upon many accounts, odious to the parliament, as well as by being governor there

by the king's commission,) and putting an inferior mean man in his place.

More was expected from Virginia; which was the most ancient plantation; and so was thought to be better provided to defend itself, and to be better affected. Upon both which suppositions, and out of confidence in sir William Berkley, the governor thereof, who had industriously invited many gentlemen, and others, thither as to a place of security, which he could defend against any attempt, and where they might live plentifully, many persons of condition, and good officers in the war, had transported themselves, with all the estate they had been able to preserve; with which the honest governor, for no man meant better, was so confirmed in his confidence, that he writ to the king almost inviting him thither, as to a place that wanted nothing. And the truth is, that, whilst the parliament had nothing else to do, that plantation in a short time was more improved in people and stock, than it had been from the beginning to that time, and had reduced the Indians to very good neighbourhood. But, alas! they were so far from being in a condition to defend themselves, all their industry having been employed in the making the best advantage of their particular plantations, without assigning time or men to provide for the public security in building forts, or any places of retreat, that there no sooner appeared two or three ships from the parliament, than all thoughts of resistance were laid aside. Sir William Berkley, the governor, was suffered to remain there as a private man, upon his own plantation; which was a better subsistence than he could have found any where else. And

in that quiet posture he continued, by the reputation he had with the people, till, upon the noise and fame of the king's restoration, he did as quietly resume the exercise of his former commission, and found as ready an obedience.

We shall not in this place enlarge upon the affairs of Scotland, (which will be part of the argument of the next book,) where Monk for the present governed with a rod of iron, and found no contradiction or opposition to his good will and pleasure. In Ireland, if that people had not been prepared and ripe for destruction, there had happened an alteration which might have given some respite to it, and disposed the nation to have united themselves under their new deputy, whom they had themselves desired, under all the solemn obligations of obedience. Shortly after the departure of the marquis of Ormond, Cromwell's deputy, Ireton, who had married his daughter, died in Limerick of the plague; which was gotten into his army, that was so much weakened by it, and there were so great factions and divisions among the officers after his sudden death, that great advantages might have been gotten by it. His authority was so absolute, that he was entirely submitted to in all the civil, as well as martial affairs. But his death was thought so little possible, that no provision had been made for that contingency. So that no man had authority to take the command upon him, till Cromwell's pleasure was farther known; who put the charge of the army under Ludlow, a man of a very different temper from the other; but appointed the civil government to run in another channel, so that there remained jealousy

and discontent enough still between the council and the officers to have shaken a government that was yet no better established.

Ireton, of whom we have had too much occasion to speak formerly, was of a melancholic, reserved, dark nature, who communicated his thoughts to very few; so that, for the most part, he resolved alone, but was never diverted from any resolution he had taken; and he was thought often by his obstinacy to prevail over Cromwell himself, and to extort his concurrence contrary to his own inclinations. But that proceeded only from his dissembling less; for he was never reserved in the owning and communicating his worst and most barbarous purposes; which the other always concealed and disavowed. Hitherto their concurrence had been very natural, since they had the same ends and designs. It was generally conceived by those who had the opportunity to know them both very well, that Ireton was a man so radically averse from monarchy, and so fixed to a republic government, that, if he had lived, he would either, by his counsel and credit, have prevented those tyrannical excesses in Cromwell, or publicly opposed and declared against them, and carried the greatest part of the army with him; and that Cromwell, who best knew his nature and his temper, had therefore carried him into Ireland, and left him there, that he might be without his counsels or importunities, when he should find it necessary to put off his mask, and to act that part which he foresaw it would be requisite to do. Others thought, his parts lay more towards civil affairs; and were fitter for the modelling that government, which his heart was set upon, (being

a scholar, conversant in the law, and in all that learning which had expressed the greatest animosity and malice against the regal government,) than for the conduct of an army to support it; his personal courage being never reckoned among his other abilities.

What influence soever his life might have had upon the future transactions, certain it is, his death had none upon the state of Ireland to the king's advantage. The marquis of Clanrickard left no way unattempted that might apply the visible strength and power of the Irish nation, to the preservation of themselves, and to the support of the king's government. He sent out his orders and warrants for the levying of new men, and to draw the old troops together, and to raise money: but few men could be got together, and when they were assembled, they could not stay together for want of money to pay them: so that he could never get a body together to march towards the enemy; and if he did prevail with them to march a whole day with him, he found, the next morning, that half of them were run away. And it quickly appeared, that they had only made those ample vows and protestations, that they might be rid of the marquis of Ormond, without any purpose of obeying the other. The greatest part of the popish clergy, and all the Irish of Ulster, had no mind to have any relation to the English nation, and as little to return to their obedience to the crown. They blamed each other for having deserted the nuncio, and thought of nothing but how they might get some foreign prince to take them into his protection. They first chose a committee,

Plunket and Brown, two lawyers, who had been eminent conductors of the rebellion from the beginning, and men of good parts, and joined others with them, who were in France and Flanders. Then they moved the lord deputy, to send these gentlemen into Flanders, "to invite the duke of "Lorrain to assist them with arms, money, and "ammunition, undertaking to have good intelli- "gence from thence, that the duke (who was "known to wish well to the king) was well pre- "pared to receive their desire, and resolved, out of "his affection to the king, to engage himself cor- "dially in the defence of that catholic kingdom, his "zeal to that religion being known to be very "great."

The marquis of Clanrickard had no opinion of the expedient, and less that the duke would engage himself on the behalf of a people who had so little reputation in the world, and therefore refused to give any commission to those gentlemen, or to any other to that purpose, without first receiving the king's order, or at least the advice of the marquis of Ormond, who was known to be safely arrived in France. But that was looked upon as delay, which their condition could not bear, and the doubting the truth of the intelligence and information of the duke of Lorrain's being willing to undertake their relief, was imputed to want of good will to receive it. And then all the libels, and scandals, and declarations, which had been published against the marquis of Ormond, were now renewed, with equal malice and virulency, against the marquis of Clanrickard; and they declared, "that God would "never bless his withered hand, which had always

" concurred with Ormond in the prosecution and " persecution of the catholics confederates from " the beginning of their engagement for the de- " fence of their religion; and that he had still " had more conversation with heretics, than with " catholics: that he had refused always to submit " to the pope's authority; and had treated his " nuncio with less respect than was due from any " good catholic; and that all the catholics who " were cherished or countenanced by him, were of " the same faction." In the end, he could not longer resist the importunity of the assembly of the confederate catholics, (which was again brought together,) and of the bishops and clergy that governed the other; but gave his consent to send the same persons they recommended to him; and gave them his credentials to the duke of Lorrain; but required them " punctually to observe his own " instructions, and not to presume to depart from " them in the least degree." Their instructions were, " to give the marquis of Ormond notice of " their arrival; and to shew him their instruc- " tions; and to conclude nothing without his " positive advice;" who, he well knew, would communicate all with the queen; and that likewise, " when they came into Flanders, they should ad- " vise with such of the king's council as should be " there, and proceed in all things as they should " direct."

What instructions soever the lord deputy prescribed to them, the commissioners received others from the council and assembly of their clergy, which they thought more to the purpose, and resolved to follow; by which they were authorized

to yield to any conditions which might prevail with the duke of Lorrain to take them into his protection, and to engage him in their defence, even by delivering all they had of the kingdom into his hands. Though they landed in France, they gave no notice of their business or their arrival to the queen, or to the marquis of Ormond; but prosecuted their journey to Brussels, and made their address, with all secresy, to the duke of Lorrain. There were, at the same time, at Antwerp, the marquis of Newcastle, the chancellor of the exchequer, (who was newly returned from his embassy in Spain,) and secretary Nicholas; all three had been of the king's council; to neither of whom they so much as gave a visit. And though the duke of York, during this time, passed through Brussels, in his journey to Paris; they imparted not their negociations to his highness.

The duke of Lorrain had a very good mind to get footing in Ireland; where, he was sure, there wanted no men to make armies enough, which were not like to want courage to defend their country and religion. And the commissioners very frankly offered "to deliver up Galloway, and "all the places which were in their possession, "into his hands, with the remainder of the king-"dom, as soon as it could be reduced; and to "obey him absolutely as their prince." But he, as a reserve to decline the whole, if it appeared to be a design fuller of difficulty than he then apprehended, discoursed much of his affection to the king, and his resolution "not to accept any thing "that was proposed, without his majesty's privity "and full approbation." But in the mean time,

and till that might be procured, he was content to send the abbot of St. Catharine's, a Lorrainer, and a person principally trusted by him, as his ambassador into Ireland, to be informed of the true state of that kingdom, and what real strength the confederate catholics were possessed of, and at what unity among themselves. With him he sent about three or four thousand pistoles, to supply their present necessities, and some arms and ammunition. The duke writ to the lord deputy the marquis of Clanrickard, as the king's governor, and the person by whose authority all those propositions had been made to him by the commissioners.

The abbot upon his arrival (though he was civilly received) quickly found, that the marquis knew nothing of what the commissioners had proposed or offered; and would by no means so much as enter upon any treaty with him; but disavowed all that they had said or done, with much vehemence, and with a protestation, "that he would cause "their heads to be cut off, if they returned, or "came into his hands." And the marquis did, at the same time, write very large letters both to the king, and the marquis of Ormond, of their presumption and wickedness; and very earnestly desired, "that they might be imprisoned, and kept "till they might undergo a just trial."

As the marquis expressed all possible indignation, so many of the catholic nobility, and even some of their clergy, who never intended to withdraw their loyalty from the crown of England, how weakly soever they had manifested it, indeed all the Irish nation, but those of Ulster, who were

of the old Septs, were wonderfully scandalized to find that all their strength was to be delivered presently up into the possession of a foreign prince; upon whose good nature only, it must be presumed that he would hereafter restore it to the king. It was now time for the popish bishops, and their confederates, to make good what had been offered by the commissioners with their authority; which though they thought not fit to own, they used all their endeavours now in procuring to have it consented to, and ratified. They very importunately advised, and pressed the lord deputy, "to confirm "what had been offered, as the only visible means to "preserve the nation, and a root out of which the "king's right might again spring and grow up:" and when they found, that he was so far from yielding to what they desired, that, *if* he had power, he would proceed against them with the utmost severity for what they had done, that he would no more give audience to the ambassador, and removed from the place where they were, to his own house and castle at Portumny, to be secure from their importunity or violence, they barefaced owned all that the commissioners had propounded, "as done "by their order, who could make it good;" and desired the ambassador "to enter into a treaty "with them;" and declared, "that they would "sign such articles, with which the duke of Lorrain "should be well satisfied." They undervalued the power of the marquis of Clanrickard, as not able to oppose any agreement they should make, nor able to make good any thing he should promise himself, without their assistance.

The ambassador was a wise man, and of phlegm

enough; and though he heard all they would say, and received any propositions they would give him in writing, yet he quickly discerned, that they were so unskilful as to the managery of any great design, and so disjointed among themselves, that they could not be depended upon to any purpose; and excused himself from entering upon any new treaty with them, as having no commission to treat but with the lord deputy. But he told them, "he "would deliver all that they had, or would propose "to him, to the duke his master; who, he pre-"sumed, would speedily return his answer, and "proceed with their commissioners in such a man-"ner as would be grateful to them." So he returned in the same ship that brought him, and gave the duke such an account of his voyage, and that people, that put an end to that negociation; which had been entered into, and prosecuted, with less wariness, circumspection, and good husbandry, than that prince was accustomed to use.

When the ambassador was gone, they prosecuted the deputy, with all reproaches of betraying and ruining his country; and had several designs upon his person, and communicated whatever attempt was resolved to the enemy: yet there were many of the nobility and gentry that continued firm, and adhered to him very faithfully; which defended his person from any violence they intended against him, but could not secure him against their acts of treachery, nor keep his counsels from being betrayed. After the defeat of Worcester was known and published, they less considered all they did; and every one thought he was to provide for his own security that way that seemed most probable

to him; and whosoever was most intent upon that, put on a new face, and application to the deputy, and loudly urged "the necessity of uniting themselves for the public safety, which was desperate "any other way;" whilst in truth every man was negociating for his own indemnity with Ludlow, (who commanded the English,) or for leave to transport regiments; which kept the soldiers together, as if they had been the deputy's army.

The deputy had a suspicion of a fellow, who was observed every day to go out, and returned not till the next; and appointed an officer of trust, with some horse, to watch him, and search him; which they did; and found about him a letter, which contained many reproaches against the marquis, and the intelligence of many particulars; which the messenger was carrying to Ludlow. It was quickly discovered that the letter was written by one Father Cohogan, a Franciscan friar in Galloway; where the deputy then was; but much of the intelligence was such as could not be known by him, but must come from some who were in the most private consultations. The deputy caused the friar to be imprisoned, and resolved to proceed exemplarily against him, after he had first discovered his complices. The friar confessed the letter to be of his writing, but refused to answer to any other question; and demanded his privilege of a churchman, and not to be tried by the deputy's order. The conclusion was, the popish bishops caused him to be taken out of the prison; and sent to the deputy, "that if he would send to them his evidence "against the friar, who was an ecclesiastical per-

" son, they would take care that justice should be " done."

This proceeding convinced the deputy, that he should not be able to do the king any service in that company; nor durst he stay longer in that town, lest they should make their own peace by delivering up him and the town together; which they would have made no scruple to have done. From that time he removed from place to place, not daring to lodge twice in the same place together, lest he should be betrayed; and sometimes without any accommodations: so that, not having been accustomed to those hardships, he contracted those diseases which he could never recover. In this manner he continued till he received commands from the king. For as soon as he had advertisement of the king's arrival at Paris, and it was very evident, by the behaviour of the Irish, that they would be no more applied to the king's service under his command than under the marquis of Ormond's, he sent the earl of Castlehaven (who had been formerly a general of the confederate catholics, and remained with great constancy with the marquis of Clanrickard, as long as there was any hope) to the king, with so particular an account, under his own hand, of all that had passed, from the time that he had received his commission from the marquis of Ormond, that it even contained almost a diurnal, in which he made so lively a description of the proceedings of the Irish, of their overtures to the duke of Lorrain, and of their several tergiversations and treacheries towards him, that any man might discern, especially they who

knew the generosity of the marquis, his nature, and his custom of living, that he had submitted to a life very uncomfortable and melancholic; and desired his majesty's leave that he might retire, and procure a pass to go into England; where he had some estate of his own, and many friends, who would not suffer him to starve; which his majesty made haste to send to him, with as great a testimony of his gracious acceptation of his service and affection, as his singular merit deserved.

Thereupon the marquis sent to Ludlow for a pass to go into England, and render himself to the parliament; which he presently sent him; and so the marquis transported himself to London; where he was civilly treated by all men, as a man who had many friends, and could have no enemies but those who could not be friends to any. But by the infirmities he had contracted in Ireland, by those unnatural fatigues and distresses he had been exposed to, he lived not to the end of a year; and had resolved, upon the recovery of any degree of health, to have transported himself to the king, and attended his fortune. He left behind him so full a relation of all material passages, as well from the beginning of that rebellion, as during the time of his own administration, that I have been the less particular in the accounts of what passed in the transactions of that kingdom, presuming that more exact work of his will, in due time, be communicated to the world.

The affairs of the three nations being in this posture at the end of the year [1652], and there being new accidents, and alterations of a very ex-

traordinary nature, in the year following, which were attended with much variety of success, though not with that benefit to the king as might have been expected naturally from those emotions, we shall here conclude this book, and reserve the other for the next.

THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH BOOK.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XIV.

IF God had not reserved the deliverance and restoration of the king to himself, and resolved to accomplish it when there appeared least hope of it, and least worldly means to bring it to pass; there happened at this time another very great alteration in England, that, together with the continuance of the war with Holland, and affronts every day offered to France, might very reasonably have administered great hopes to the king of a speedy change of government. From the time of the defeat at Worcester, and the reduction of Scotland and Ireland to perfect obedience, Cromwell did not find the parliament so supple to observe his orders, as he expected they would have been. The presbyterian party, which he had discountenanced all he could, and made his army of the independent party, were bold in contradicting him in the house, and crossing all his designs in the city, and exceedingly inveighed against the license that

was practised in religion, by the several factions of independents, anabaptists, quakers, and the several species of these; who contemned all magistrates, and the laws established. All these, how contradictory soever to one another, Cromwell cherished and protected, that he might not be overrun by the presbyterians; of whom the time was not yet come that he could make use: yet he seemed to shew much respect to some principal preachers of that party; and consulted much with them, how the distempers in religion might be composed.

Though he had been forward enough to enter upon the war of Holland, that so there might be no proposition made for the disbanding any part of his army, which otherwise could not be prevented, yet he found the expense of it was so great, that the nation could never bear that addition of burden to the other of land forces; which how apparent soever, he saw the parliament so fierce for the carrying on that war, that they would not hearken to any reasonable conditions of peace; which the Dutch appeared most solicitous to make upon any conditions. But that which troubled him most, was the jealousy that his own party of independents had contracted against him: that party, that had advanced him to the height he was at, and made him superior to all opposition, even his beloved Vane, thought his power and authority to be too great for a commonwealth, and that he and his army had not dependence enough upon, or submission to, the parliament. So that he found those who had exalted him, now most solicitous to bring him lower; and he knew well enough what any diminution of his power and authority must quickly

be attended with. He observed, that those his old friends very frankly united themselves with his and their old enemies, the presbyterians, for the prosecution of the war with Holland, and obstructing all the overtures towards peace; which must, in a short time, exhaust the stock, and consequently disturb any settlement in the kingdom.

In this perplexity he resorts to his old remedy, his army; and again erects another council of officers, who, under the style, first, of petitions, and then of remonstrances, interposed in whatsoever had any relation to the army; used great importunity for "the arrears of their pay; that they "might not be compelled to take free quarter upon "their fellow subjects, who already paid so great "contributions and taxes; which they were well "assured, if well managed, would abundantly de-"fray all the charges of the war, and of the "government." The sharp answers the parliament gave to their addresses, and the reprehensions for their presumption in meddling with matters above them, gave the army new matter to reply to; and put them in mind of some former professions they had made, "that they would be glad to be "eased of the burden of their employment; and "that there might be successive parliaments to "undergo the same trouble they had done." They therefore desired them, "that they would remem-"ber how many years they had sat; and though "they had done great things, yet it was a great "injury to the rest of the nation, to be utterly ex-"cluded from bearing any part in the service of "their country, by their engrossing the whole "power into their hands; and thereupon besought

"them, that they would settle a council for the "administration of the government during the "interval, and then dissolve themselves, and sum- "mon a new parliament; which," they told them, "would be the most popular action they could "perform."

These addresses in the name of the army, being confidently delivered by some officers of it, and as confidently seconded by others who were members of the house, it was thought necessary, that they should receive a solemn debate, to the end that when the parliament had declared its resolution and determination, all persons might be obliged to acquiesce therein, and so there would be an end put to all addresses of that kind.

There were many members of the house, who, either from the justice and reason of the request, or seasonably to comply with the sense of the army, to which they foresaw they should be at last compelled to submit, seemed to think it necessary, for abating the great envy, which was confessedly against the parliament throughout the kingdom, that they should be dissolved, to the end the people might make a new election of such persons as they thought fit to trust with their liberty and property, and whatsoever was dearest to them. But Mr. Martyn told them, "that he thought they might "find the best advice from the scripture, what "they were to do in this particular: that when "Moses was found upon the river, and brought "to Pharaoh's daughter, she took care that the "mother might be found out, to whose care he "might be committed to be nursed; which suc- "ceeded very happily." He said, "their common-

" wealth was yet an infant, of a weak growth, and " a very tender constitution; and therefore his " opinion was, that nobody could be so fit to nurse " it, as the mother who brought it forth; and that " they should not think of putting it under any " other hands, until it had obtained more years " and vigour." To which he added, " that they " had another infant too under their hands, the " war with Holland, which had thrived wonder- " fully under their conduct; but he much doubted " that it would be quickly strangled, if it were " taken out of their care who had hitherto go- " verned it."

These reasons prevailed so far, that, whatsoever was said to the contrary, it was determined, that the parliament would not yet think of dissolving, nor would take it well, that any persons should take the presumption any more to make overtures to them of that nature, which was not fit for private and particular persons to meddle with: and, to put a seasonable stop to any farther presumption of that kind, they appointed a committee " speedily " to prepare an act of parliament by which it should " be declared to be high treason, for any man to " propose or contrive the dissolution of this parlia- " ment, or to change the present government set- " tled and established."

This bill being prepared by the committee, they resolved to pass it with all possible expedition. So Cromwell clearly discerned, that by this means they would never be persuaded to part with that authority and power, which was so profitable, and so pleasant to them: yet the army declared they were not satisfied with the determination, and con-

tinued their applications to the same purpose, or to others as unagreeable to the sense of the house; and did all they could to infuse the same spirit into all the parts of the kingdom, to make the parliament odious, as it was already very abundantly; and Cromwell was well pleased that the parliament should express as much prejudice against the army.

All things being thus prepared, Cromwell thought this a good season to expose these enemies of peace to the indignation of the nation; which, he well knew, was generally weary of the war, and hoped, if that were at an end, that they should be eased of the greatest part of their contributions, and other impositions: thereupon, having adjusted all things with the chief officers of the army, who were at his devotion, in the month of April, that was in the year 1653, he came into the house of parliament in a morning when it was sitting, attended with the officers, who were likewise members of the house, and told them, "that he came thither "to put an end to their power and authority; "which they had managed so ill, that the nation "could be no otherwise preserved than by their "dissolution; which he advised them, without "farther debate, quietly to submit unto."

Thereupon another officer, with some files of musketeers, entered into the house, and stayed there till all the members walked out; Cromwell reproaching many of the members by name, as they went out of the house, with their vices and corruptions; and amongst the rest, sir Harry Vane with his breach of faith and corruption; and having given the mace to an officer to be safely

kept, he caused the doors to be locked up; and so dissolved that assembly, which had sat almost thirteen years, and under whose name he had wrought so much mischief, and reduced three kingdoms to his own entire obedience and subjection, without any example or precedent in the Christian world that could raise his ambition to such a presumptuous undertaking, and without any rational dependence upon the friendship of one man, who had any other interest to advance his designs, but what he had given him by preferring him in the war.

When he had thus prosperously passed this Rubicon, he lost no time in publishing a declaration of the grounds and reasons of his proceeding, for the satisfaction of the people: in which he put them in mind, "how miraculously God had appeared for them in reducing Ireland and Scotland to so great a degree of peace, and England to a perfect quiet; whereby the parliament had opportunity to give the people the harvest of all their labour, blood, and treasure, and to settle a due liberty in reference to civil and spiritual things, whereunto they were obliged by their duty, engagements, and those great and wonderful things God had wrought for them. But that they had made so little progress towards this good end, that it was matter of much grief to the good people of the land, who had thereupon applied themselves to the army, expecting redress by their means; who, being very unwilling to meddle with the civil authority, thought fit that some officers, who were members of the parliament, should move and desire the parliament to

" proceed vigorously in reforming what was amiss
" in the commonwealth, and in settling it upon a
" foundation of justice and righteousness: that they
" found this, and some other endeavours they had
" used, produced no good effect, but rather an
" averseness to the things themselves, with much
" bitterness and aversion to the people of God, and
" his Spirit acting in them: insomuch as the godly
" party in the army was now become of no other
" use, than to countenance the ends of a corrupt
" party, that desired to perpetuate themselves in
" the supreme government of the nation: that, for
" the obviating those evils, the officers of the army
" had obtained several meetings with some mem-
" bers of the parliament, to consider what remedies
" might properly be applied; but that it appeared
" very evident unto them, that the parliament, by
" want of attendance of many of their members,
" and want of integrity in others who did attend,
" would never answer those ends, which God, his
" people, and the whole nation, expected from
" them; but that this cause, which God had so
" greatly blessed, must needs languish under their
" hands, and by degrees be lost, and the lives,
" liberties, and comforts of his people, be delivered
" into their enemies' hands. All which being
" seriously and sadly considered by the honest
" people of the nation, as well as by the army, it
" seemed a duty incumbent upon them, who had
" seen so much of the power and presence of God,
" to consider of some effectual means, whereby to
" establish righteousness and peace in these nations:
" that, after much debate, it had been judged ne-
" cessary, that the supreme government should be,

" by the parliament, devolved for a time upon " known persons, fearing God, and of approved in- " tegrity, as the most hopeful way to countenance " all God's people, preserve the law, and administer " justice impartially; hoping thereby, that people " might forget monarchy, and understand their " true interest in the election of successive parlia- " ments, and so the government might be settled " upon a right basis, without hazard to this glorious " cause, or necessity to keep up armies for the de- " fence thereof: that being resolved, if possible, to " decline all extraordinary courses, they had pre- " vailed with about twenty members of the parlia- " ment to give them a conference; with whom " they debated the justice and necessity of that " proposition; but found them of so contrary an " opinion, that they insisted upon the continuance " of the present parliament, as it was then consti- " tuted, as the only way to bring those good things " to pass which they seemed to desire: that they " insisted upon this with so much vehemence, and " were so much transported with passion, that they " caused a bill to be prepared for the perpetuating " this parliament, and investing the supreme power " in themselves. And for the preventing the con- " summation of this act, and all the sad and evil " consequences, which, upon the grounds thereof, " must have ensued, and whereby, at one blow, the " interest of all honest men, and of this glorious " cause, had been in danger to be laid in the dust, " they had been necessitated (though with much " repugnance) to put an end to the parliament."

There needs not be any other description of the temper of the nation at that time, than the remem-

bering that the dissolution of that body of men, who had reigned so long over the three nations, was generally very grateful and acceptable to the people, how wonderful soever the circumstances thereof had been; and that this declaration, which was not only subscribed by Cromwell and his council of officers, but was owned by the admirals at sea, and all the captains of ships, and by the commanders of all the land forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, was looked upon as very reasonable; and the declaration, that issued thereupon, by which the people were required to live peaceably, and quietly to submit themselves to the government of the council of state, which should be nominated by the general, until such a time as a parliament, consisting of persons of approved fidelity and honesty, could meet, and take upon them the government of these nations, found an equal submission and obedience.

The method he pursued afterwards, for the composing a government, by first putting it into a most ridiculous confusion, and by divesting himself of all pretences to authority, and putting what he had no title to keep into the hands of men so well chosen, that they should shortly after delegate the power legally to him for the preservation of the nation, was not less admirable; and puts me in mind of what Seneca said of Pompey, "that he had brought "the people of Rome to that pass, by magnifying "their power and authority, *ut salvus esse non possit* "*nisi beneficio servitutis.*" And if Cromwell had not now made himself a tyrant, all bonds being broken, and the universal guilt diverting all inclinations to return to the king's obedience, they must

have perished together in such a confusion, as would rather have exposed them as a prey to foreigners, than disposed them to the only reasonable way for their preservation; there being no man that durst mention the king, or the old form of government.

It was upon the twenty-fourth [twentieth] of April that the parliament had been dissolved; and though Cromwell found that the people were satisfied in it, and the declaration published thereupon, yet he knew it would be necessary to provide some other visible power to settle the government, than the council of officers; all whom he was not sure he should be able long entirely to govern,* many of them having clear other notions of a republic than he was willing England should be brought to. A parliament was still a name of more veneration than any other assembly of men was like to be, and the contempt the last was fallen into was like to teach the next to behave itself with more discretion. However the ice was broken for dissolving them, when they should do otherwise; yet he was not so well satisfied in the general temper, as to trust the election of them to the humour and inclination of the people.

He resolved therefore to choose them himself, that he might with the more justice unmake them when he should think fit; and with the advice of his council of officers, for he made yet no other council of state, he made choice of a number of men, consisting of above one hundred and forty persons, who should meet as a parliament to settle the government of the nation. It can hardly be believed that so wild a notion should fall into any

man's imagination, that such a people should be fit to contribute towards any settlement, or that from their actions any thing could result, that might advance his particular design. Yet, upon the view and consideration of the persons made choice of, many did conclude, "that he had made his own "scheme entirely to himself; and though he com- "municated it with no man, concluded it the most "natural way to ripen and produce the effects it "did afterwards, to the end he proposed to him- "self."

There were amongst them some few of the quality and degree of gentlemen, and who had estates, and such a proportion of credit and reputation, as could consist with the guilt they had contracted. But much the major part of them consisted of inferior persons, of no quality or name, artificers of the meanest trades, known only by their gifts in praying and preaching; which was now practised by all degrees of men, but scholars, throughout the kingdom. In which number, that there may be a better judgment made of the rest, it will not be amiss to name one, from whom that parliament itself was afterwards denominated, who was Praise-God (that was his Christian name) Barebone, a leatherseller in Fleet-street, from whom (he being an eminent speaker in it) it was afterwards called Praise-God Barebone's parliament. In a word, they were a pack of weak senseless fellows, fit only to bring the name and reputation of parliaments lower than it was yet.

It was fit these new men should be brought together by some new way: and a very new way it was; for Cromwell by his warrants, directed to

every one of them, telling them "of the necessity "of dissolving the late parliament, and of an equal "necessity, that the peace, safety, and good go- "vernment of the commonwealth should be pro- "vided for, and therefore that he had, by the advice "of his council of officers, nominated divers persons "fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty, "to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty "affairs was to be committed, and that having "good assurance of their love to, and courage for "God, and the interest of his cause, and the good "people of this commonwealth;" he concluded in these words, "I, Oliver Cromwell, captain general "and commander in chief of all the forces raised, "or to be raised, within this commonwealth, do "hereby summon and require you personally to be "and appear at the council-chamber at Whitehall, "upon the fourth day of July next, then and there "to take upon you the said trust. And you are "hereby called and appointed to serve as a member "of the county of," &c. Upon this wild summons, the persons so nominated appeared at the council-chamber upon the fourth of July, which was near three months after the dissolution of the former parliament.

Cromwell, with his council of officers, was ready to receive them, and made them a long discourse of "the fear of God, and the honour due to his "name," full of texts of scripture; and remembered "the wonderful mercies of God to this nation, and "the continued series of providence, by which he "had appeared in carrying on his cause, and bring- "ing affairs into that present glorious condition, "wherein they now were." He put them in mind

of "the noble actions of the army in the famous "victory of Worcester, of the applications they had "made to the parliament, for a good settlement of "all the affairs of the commonwealth, the neglect "whereof made it absolutely necessary to dissolve "it." He assured them by many arguments, some of which were urged out of scripture, "that they "had a very lawful call to take upon them the "supreme authority of the nation;" and concluded with a very earnest desire, "that great tenderness "might be used towards all conscientious persons, "of what judgment soever they appeared to be."

When he had finished his discourse, he delivered to them an instrument, engrossed in parchment under his hand and seal, whereby, with the advice of his council of officers, he did devolve and intrust the supreme authority of this commonwealth into the hands of those persons therein mentioned; and declared, "that they, or any forty of them, were to "be held and acknowledged the supreme authority "of the nation, to which all persons within the "same, and the territories thereunto belonging, "were to yield obedience and subjection to the "third day of the month of November, which "should be in the year 1654," which was about a year and three months from the time that he spoke to them; and three months before the time prescribed should expire, they were to make choice of other persons to succeed them, whose power and authority should not exceed one year, and then they were likewise to provide and take care for a like succession in the government. Being thus invested with this authority, they repaired to the parliament house, and made choice of one Rouse to

be their speaker, an old gentleman of Devonshire, who had been a member of the former parliament, and in that time been preferred and made provost of the college of Eton, which office he then enjoyed, with an opinion of having some knowledge in the Latin and Greek tongues, but of a very mean understanding, but throughly engaged in the guilt of the times.

At their first coming together, some of them had the modesty to doubt, that they were not in many respects so well qualified as to take upon them the style and title of a parliament. But that modesty was quickly subdued, and they were easily persuaded to assume that title, and to consider themselves as the supreme authority in the nation. These men thus brought together continued in this capacity near six months, to the amazement and even mirth of the people. In which time they never entered upon any grave and serious debate, that might tend to any settlement, but generally expressed great sharpness and animosity against the clergy, and against all learning, out of which they thought the clergy had grown, and still would grow.

There were now no bishops for them to be angry with; they had already reduced all that order to the lowest beggary. But their quarrel was against all who had called themselves ministers, and who, by being called so, received tithes, and respect from their neighbours. They resolved the function itself to be Antichristian, and the persons to be burdensome to the people, and the requiring and payment of tithes to be absolute Judaism, and they thought fit that they should be abolished altogether;

and that there might not for the time to come be any race of people who might revive those pretences, they thought fit, "that all lands belonging "to the universities, and colleges in those univer- "sities, might be sold, and the monies that should "arise thereby, be disposed for the public service, "and to ease the people from the payment of taxes "and contributions."

When they had tired and perplexed themselves so long in such debates, as soon as they were met in the morning upon the twelfth of December, and before many of them were come who were like to dissent from the motion, one of them stood up and declared, "that he did believe, they were not equal "to the burden that was laid upon them, and "therefore that they might dissolve themselves, "and deliver back their authority into their hands "from whom they had received it;" which being presently consented to, their speaker, with those who were of that mind, went to Whitehall, and redelivered to Cromwell the instrument they had received from him, acknowledged their own impotency, and besought him to take care of the commonwealth.

By this frank donation he and his council of officers were once more possessed of the supreme sovereign power of the nation. And in few days after, his council were too modest to share with him in this royal authority, but declared, "that the "government of the commonwealth should reside "in a single person; that that person should be "Oliver Cromwell, captain general of all the forces "in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that his "title should be lord protector of the common-

" wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and " of the dominions and territories thereunto be- " longing; and that he should have a council of " one and twenty persons to be assistant to him in " the government."

Most men did now conclude, that the folly and sottishness of this last assembly was so much foreseen, that, from their very first coming together, it was determined what should follow their dissolution. For the method that succeeded could hardly have been composed in so short a time after, by persons who had not consulted upon the contingency some time before. It was upon the twelfth of December, that the small parliament was dissolved, when many of the members, who came to the house as to their usual consultations, found that they who came before, were gone to Whitehall to be dissolved; which the other never thought of: and upon the sixteenth day, the commissioners of the great seal, with the lord mayor and aldermen, were sent for to attend Cromwell and his council to Westminster-hall; it being then vacation-time; and being come thither, the commissioners sitting upon their usual seat, and not knowing why they were sent for, the declaration of the council of officers was read, whereby Cromwell was made protector; who stood in the court uncovered, whilst what was contained in a piece of parchment was read, which was called the *instrument of government;* whereby it was ordained, " that the pro- " tector should call a parliament once in every three " years; that the first parliament should be con- " vened upon the third day of September follow- " ing, which would be in the year 1654; and that

" he should not dissolve any parliament once met, " till they had sat five months; that such bills as " should be presented to him by the parliament, if " they should not be confirmed by him within " twenty days, should pass without him, and be " looked upon as laws: that he should have a " select council to assist him, which should not " exceed the number of one and twenty, nor be " less than thirteen: that immediately after his " death the council should choose another pro- " tector before they rose: that no protector after " him should be general of the army: that the " protector should have power to make peace and " war: that, with the consent of his council, he " should make laws, which should be binding to " the subjects during the intervals of parliament."

Whilst this was reading, Cromwell had his hand upon the Bible; and it being read, he took his oath, " that he would not violate any thing that " was contained in that instrument of government; " but would observe, and cause the same to be ob- " served; and in all things, according to the best " of his understanding, govern the nation according " to the laws, statutes, and customs, seeking peace, " and causing justice and law to be equally admi- " nistered."

This new invented ceremony being in this manner performed, he himself was covered, and all the rest bare; and Lambert, who was then the second person in the army, carried the sword before his highness (which was the style he took from thenceforth) to his coach, all they whom he called into it sitting bare; and so he returned to Whitehall; and immediately proclamation was made by a herald,

in the palace-yard at Westminster, "that the late "parliament having dissolved themselves, and re- "signed their whole power and authority, the "government of the commonwealth of England, "Scotland, and Ireland, by a lord protector, and "successive triennial parliaments, was now esta- "blished: and whereas Oliver Cromwell, captain "general of all the forces of the commonwealth, is "declared lord protector of the said nations, and "had accepted thereof, publication was now made "of the same; and all persons, of what quality or "condition soever, in any of the said three nations, "were strictly charged and commanded to take "notice thereof, and to conform and submit them- "selves to the government so established; and all "sheriffs, mayors, &c. were required to publish "this proclamation, to the end that none might "have cause to pretend ignorance therein." Which proclamation was at the same time published in Cheapside by the lord mayor of London; and, with all possible expedition, by the sheriffs, and other officers, throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland. And a few days after, the city of London invited their new protector to a very splendid entertainment at Grocers' hall, the streets being railed, and the solemnity of his reception such as had been at any time performed to the king: and he, as like a king, graciously conferred the honour of knighthood upon the lord mayor at his departure.

In this manner, and with so little pains, this extraordinary man, without any other reason than because he had a mind to it, and without the

assistance, and against the desire of all noble persons or men of quality, or three men, who, in the beginning of the troubles, were possessed of three hundred pounds lands by the year, mounted himself into the throne of three kingdoms, without the name of king, but with a greater power and authority than had ever been exercised or claimed by any king; and received greater evidence and manifestation of respect and esteem from all the kings and princes in Christendom, than had ever been shewed to any monarch of those nations: which was so much the more notorious, in that they all abhorred him, when they trembled at his power, and courted his friendship.

Though, during this last year's unsettlement in England, Cromwell had, *ex plenitudine potestatis*, taken care that there was a good winter guard of ships in the Downs, yet the Dutch had enjoyed a very fruitful harvest of trade during that confusion, and suspension of power; and had sent out their fleets of merchantmen under a convoy, by the north of Scotland; and, by the return of that convoy, received their fleet from the Baltic with security; so that, upon the hope those domestic contentions in England would not be so soon composed, they begun to recover their spirits again. But Cromwell was no sooner invested in his new dignity, but, with great diligence, he caused a strong fleet to be made ready against the spring; and committed the command thereof to three admirals jointly; Blake, a man well known, but not thought entirely enough devoted to Cromwell; Monk, whom he called out of Scotland as his own crea-

ture; and Dean, a mere seaman, grown, from a common mariner, to the reputation of a bold and excellent officer.

This fleet, in the beginning of June in the year 1653, met with the Dutch about the middle seas over between Dover and Zealand; and made what haste they could to engage them. But the wind not being favourable, it was noon before the fight begun; which continued very sharp till the night parted them, without any visible advantage to either side, save that Dean, one of the English admirals, was killed by a cannon shot from the rear-admiral of the Dutch. The next morning, the Dutch having the advantage of the small wind that was, the English charged so furiously upon the thickest part of them, without discharging any of their guns till they were at a very small distance, that they broke their squadrons; and in the end forced them to fly, and make all the sail they could for their own coasts, leaving behind them eleven of their ships; which were all taken; besides six which were sunk. The execution on the Dutch was very great, as was likewise the number of the prisoners, as well officers as soldiers. The loss of the English was greatest in their general Dean: there was, besides him, but one captain, and about two hundred common seamen, killed: the number of the wounded was greater; nor did they lose one ship, nor were so disabled but that they followed with the whole fleet to the coast of Holland, whither the other fled; and being got into the Flie, and the Texel, the English for some time blocked them up in their own har-

bours, taking all such ships as came bound for those ports.

This great defeat so humbled the States, that they made all possible haste to send four commissioners into England to mediate for a treaty, and a cessation of arms; who were received very loftily by Cromwell, and with some reprehension for their want of wariness in entering into so unequal a contention: yet he declared a gracious inclination to a treaty, till the conclusion whereof he could admit no cessation; which being known in Holland, they would not stay so long under the reproach and disadvantage of being besieged, and shut up in their ports; but made all possible haste to prepare another fleet, strong enough to remove the English from their coasts; which they believed was the best expedient to advance their treaty: and there cannot be a greater instance of the opulency of that people, than that they should be able, after so many losses, and so late a great defeat, in so short a time to gather a strong fleet enough together to visit those who had so lately overcome them, and who shut them within their ports.

Their admiral Trump had, with some of the fleet, retired into the Wierings, at too great a distance from the other ports for the English fleet to divide itself. He had, with a marvellous industry, caused his hurt ships to be repaired; and more severe punishment to be inflicted on those who had behaved themselves cowardly, than had ever been used in that State. And the States published so great and ample rewards to all officers and seamen who would, in that conjuncture, repair to their

service, that by the end of July, within less than two months after their defeat, he came out of the Wierings with a fleet of ninety and five men of war; which as soon as the English had notice of, they made towards him. But the wind rising, they were forced to stand more to sea, for fear of the sands and shelves upon that coast. Whereupon Van Trump, all that night, stood into the Texel; where he joined five and twenty more of their best ships; and with this addition, which made an hundred and twenty sail, he faced the English; who kept still to the sea; and having got a little more room, and the weather being a little clearer, tacked about, and were received by the Dutch with great courage and gallantry.

The battle continued very hot, and bloody on both sides, from six of the clock in the morning till one in the afternoon; when the admiral of Holland, the famous Van Trump, whilst he very signally performed the office of a brave and bold commander, was shot with a musket bullet into the heart, of which he fell dead without speaking word. This blow broke the courage of the rest; who seeing many of their companions burnt and sunk, after having endured very hot service, before the evening, fled, and made all the sail they could towards the Texel: the English were not in a condition to pursue them; but found themselves obliged to retire to their own coast, both to preserve and mend their maimed and torn ships, and refresh their wounded men.

This battle was the most bloody that had been yet fought, both sides rather endeavouring the destruction of their enemy's fleet than the taking

their ships. On the Hollander's part, between twenty and thirty of their ships of war were fired, or sunk, and above one thousand prisoners taken. The victory cost the English dear too; for four hundred common men and eight captains were slain outright, and above seven hundred common men and five captains wounded. But they lost only one ship, which was burned: and two or three more, though carried home, were disabled for farther service. The most sensible part of the loss to the Dutch was the death of their admiral Van Trump, who, in respect of his maritime experience, and the frequent actions he had been engaged in, might very well be reckoned amongst the most eminent commanders at sea of that age, and to whose memory his country is farther indebted than they have yet acknowledged.

This was the last engagement at sea between the two commonwealths: for as the Dutch were, by this last defeat, and loss of their brave admiral, totally dispirited, and gave their commissioners at London order to prosecute the peace upon any conditions, so Cromwell was weary enough of so chargeable a war, and knew he had much to do to settle the government at home, and that he might choose more convenient enemies abroad, who would neither be able to defend themselves as well, or to do him so much harm, as the Hollanders had done, and could do. And therefore when he had drawn the Dutch to accept of such conditions as he thought fit to give them; among which one was, "that they should not suffer any of the king's "party, or any enemy to the commonwealth of "England, to reside within their dominions:" and

another, which was contained in a secret article, to which the great seal of the States was affixed, by which they obliged themselves "never to admit the "prince of Orange to be their stateholder, general, "or admiral; and likewise to deliver up the island "of Polerone in the East Indies" (which they had taken from the English in the time of king James, and usurped it ever since) "into the hands of the "East India English company again;" and to pay a good sum of money for the old barbarous violence exercised so many years since at Amboyna; for which the two last kings could never obtain satisfaction and reparation: about the middle of April 1654, he made a peace with the States General, with all the advantages he could desire, having indeed all the persons of power and interest there, fast bound to him upon their joint interest.

And having now rendered himself terrible abroad, he forced Portugal to send an ambassador to beg peace, and to submit to expiate the offence they had committed in receiving prince Rupert, by the payment of a great sum of money; and brought the two crowns of France and Spain to sue for his alliance. He suspended for a time to choose a new enemy, that he might make himself as much obeyed at home, as he was feared abroad; and, in order to that, he prosecuted all those who had been of the king's party with the utmost rigour; laid new impositions upon them, and, upon every light rumour of a conspiracy, clapped up all those whom he thought fit to suspect into close prisons; enjoined others not to stir from their own houses, and banished all who had ever been in arms for the king, from the cities of London and Westminster;

and laid other penalties upon them, contrary to the articles granted to them when they gave up their arms, and to the indemnity upon making their compositions.

The discontents were general over the whole kingdom, and among all sorts of people, of what party soever. The presbyterians preached boldly against the liberty of conscience, and the monstrous license that sprung from thence; and they who enjoyed that license were as unsatisfied with the government as any of the rest, talked more loudly, and threatened the person of Cromwell more than any. But into these distempers Cromwell was not inquisitive; nor would give those men an opportunity to talk, by calling them in question, who, he knew, would say more than he was willing any body should hear; but intended to mortify those unruly spirits at the charge of the king's party, and with the spectacle of their suffering upon any the most trivial occasion. And if, in this general license of discourse, any man, who was suspected to wish well to the king, let fall any light word against the government, he was sure to be cast in prison, and to be pursued with all possible severity and cruelty: and he could not want frequent opportunities of revenge this way. It was the greatest consolation to miserable men, who had, in themselves or their friends, been undone by their loyalty, to meet together, and lament their conditions: and this brought on invectives against the person of Cromwell; wine, and the continuance of the discourse, disposing them to take notice of the universal hatred that the whole nation had of him, and to fancy how easy it would be to destroy him.

And commonly there was, in all those meetings, some corrupted person of the party, who fomented most the discourse, and, for a vile recompense, betrayed his companions, and informed of all, and more than had been said. Whereupon a new plot was discovered against the commonwealth and the person of the protector, and a high court of justice was presently erected to try the criminals; which rarely absolved any man who was brought before them. But to this kind of trial they never exposed any man but those of the king's party; the other, of whom they were more afraid, had too many friends to suffer them to be brought before such a tribunal; which had been first erected to murder the king himself, and continued to root out all who adhered to him. No man who had ever been against the king (except he became afterwards for him) was ever brought before that extravagant power; but such were remitted to the trial of the law by juries, which seldom condemned any.

The very next month after the peace was made, for the better establishment of Cromwell's empire, a high court of justice was erected for the trial of persons accused of "holding correspondence with "Charles Stuart," (which was the style they allowed the king,) "and for having a design "against the life of the protector, to seize upon "the Tower, and to proclaim the king." The chief persons they accused of this were, Mr. Gerard, a young gentleman of a good family, who had been an ensign in the king's army, but was not at present above twenty-two years of age, without any interest or fortune: the other, one Mr. Vowel; who kept a school, and taught many boys about

Islington. Mr. Gerard was charged with "having "been at Paris, and having there spoken with the "king;" which he confessed; and declared, "that "he went to Paris upon a business that concerned "himself," (which he named,) "and when he had "despatched it, and was to return for England, he "desired the lord Gerard, his kinsman, to present "him to the king, that he might kiss his hand; "which he did in a large room, where were many "present; and that, when he asked his majesty, "whether he would command him any service "into England? his majesty bid him to commend "him to his friends there, and to charge them "that they should be quiet, and not engage them-"selves in any plots; which must prove ruinous "to them, and could do the king no good:" which was very true: for his majesty had observed so much of the temper of the people at his being at Worcester, and his concealment after, the fear they were under, and how fruitless any insurrection must be, that he endeavoured nothing more than to divert and suppress all inclinations that way. However, this high court of justice received proof, that Mr. Gerard and Mr. Vowel had been present with some other gentlemen in a tavern, where discourse had been held, "how easy a thing it was to "kill the protector, and at the same time to seize "upon the Tower of London, and that, if at the "same time the king were proclaimed, the city "of London would presently declare for his ma-"jesty, and nobody would oppose him."

Upon this evidence, these two gentlemen were condemned to be hanged; and upon the tenth of July, about two months after they had been in

prison, a gallows was erected at Charing-cross; whither Mr. Vowel was brought; who was a person utterly unknown to the king, and to any person intrusted by him, but very worthy to have his name and memory preserved in the list of those who shewed most magnanimity and courage in sacrificing their lives for the crown. He expressed a marvellous contempt of death; "which," he said, "he suffered without having committed "any fault." He professed his duty to the king, and his reverence for the church; and earnestly and pathetically advised the people to return to their fidelity to both; "which," he told them, "they would at last be compelled to do after all "their sufferings." He addressed himself most to the soldiers; told them, "how unworthily they "prostituted themselves to serve the ambition of "an unworthy tyrant;" and conjured them "to "forsake him, and to serve the king; which, he "was sure, they would at last do." And so having devoutly recommended the king, and the kingdom, and himself, to God in very pious prayers, he ended his life with as much Christian resolution, as can be expected from the most composed conscience.

The protector was prevailed with to shew more respect to Mr. Gerard in causing him to be beheaded, who was brought the afternoon of the same day to a scaffold upon the Tower-hill. But they were so ill pleased with the behaviour of him who suffered in the morning, that they would not permit the other to speak to the people, but pressed him to discover all the secrets of the plot and conspiracy. He told them, "that if he had a hundred

" lives, he would lose them all to do the king any " service; and was now willing to die upon that " suspicion; but that he was very innocent of " what was charged against him; that he had not " entered into or consented to any plot or con- " spiracy, nor given any countenance to any dis- " course to that purpose;" and offered again to speak to the people, and to magnify the king; upon which they would not suffer him to proceed; and thereupon, with great and undaunted courage, he laid down his head upon the block.

The same day was concluded with a very exemplary piece of justice, and of a very different nature from the other two. The ambassador of Portugal had a very splendid equipage, and in his company his brother don Pantaleon Sa, a knight of Malta, and a man eminent in many great actions; who out of curiosity accompanied his brother in this embassy, that he might see England. This gentleman was of a haughty and imperious nature; and one day being in the new exchange, upon a sudden accident and mistake, had a quarrel with that Mr. Gerard, whom we now left without his head; who had then returned some negligence and contempt to the rhodomontadoes of the Portuguese, and had left him sensible of receiving some affront. Whereupon the don repaired thither again the next day, with many servants, better armed, and provided for any encounter, imagining he should there find his former adversary, who did not expect that visit. But the Portuguese not distinguishing persons, and finding many gentlemen walking there, and, amongst the rest, one he believed very like the other, he thought he was not to lose the occasion,

and entered into a new quarrel; in which a gentleman utterly unacquainted with what had formerly passed, and walking there accidentally, was killed, and others hurt; upon which, the people rising from all the neighbour places, don Pantaleon thought fit to make his retreat to his brother's house; which he did, and caused the gates to be locked, and put all the servants in arms to defend the house against the people; which had pursued him, and flocked now together from all parts to apprehend those who had caused the disorder, and had killed a gentleman.

The ambassador knew nothing of the affair, but looked upon himself as affronted, and assaulted by a rude multitude; and took care to defend his house till the justice should allay the tumult. Cromwell was quickly advertised of the insolence, and sent an officer with soldiers to demand and seize upon all the persons who had been engaged in the action: and so the ambassador came to be informed of the truth of the story, with which he was exceedingly afflicted and astonished. The officer demanded the person of his brother, who was well known, and the rest of those who were present, to be delivered to him, without which he would break open the house, and find them wherever they were concealed. The ambassador demanded the privilege that was due to his house by the law of nations, and which he would defend against any violence with his own life, and the lives of all his family; but finding the officer resolute, and that he should be too weak in the encounter, he desired respite till he might send to the protector; which was granted to him. He

complained of the injury that was done him, and desired an audience. Cromwell sent him word, "that a gentleman had been murdered, and many "others hurt; and that justice must be satisfied; "and therefore required that all the persons "engaged might be delivered into the hands of "his officer; without which, if he should with-"draw the soldiers, and desist the requiring it, "the people would pull down the house, and exe-"cute justice themselves; of which he would not "answer for the effect. When this was done, "he should have an audience, and all the satis-"faction it was in his power to give." The ambassador desired, "that his brother, and the "rest, might remain in his house, and he would "be responsible, and produce them before the "justice as the time should be assigned." But nothing would serve but the delivery of the persons, and the people increased their cry, "that "they would pull down the house." Whereupon the ambassador was compelled to deliver up his brother, and the rest of the persons; who were all sent prisoners to Newgate. The ambassador used all the instances he could for his brother, being willing to leave the rest to the mercy of the law; but could receive no other answer but "that justice must be done;" and justice was done to the full; for they were all brought to their trial at the sessions at Newgate, and there so many of them condemned to be hanged as were found guilty. The rest of those who were condemned were executed at Tyburn; and don Pantaleon himself was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, as soon as Mr. Gerard was executed; where he lost

his head with less grace than his antagonist had done.

Though the protector had nothing now to do but at home, Holland having accepted peace upon his own terms, Portugal bought it at a full price, and upon an humble submission, Denmark being contented with such an alliance as he was pleased to make with them, and France and Spain contending, by their ambassadors, which should render themselves most acceptable to him; Scotland lying under a heavy yoke by the severe government of Monk, who after the peace with the Dutch was sent back to govern that province, which was reduced under the government of the English laws, and their kirk, and kirkmen, entirely subdued to the obedience of the state without reference to assemblies, or synods; Ireland being confessedly subdued, and no opposition made to the protector's commands; so that commissions were sent to divide all the lands which had belonged to the Irish, or to those English who had adhered to the king, amongst those adventurers who had supplied money for the war, and the soldiers and officers; who were in great arrears for their pay, and who received liberal assignations in lands; one whole province being reserved for a demesne for the protector; and all these divisions made under the government of his younger son, Harry Cromwell, whom he sent thither as his lieutenant of that kingdom; who lived in the full grandeur of the office: notwithstanding all this, England proved not yet so towardly as he expected. Vane, and the most considerable men of the independent party, from the time he had turned them out of

the parliament, and so dissolved it, retired quietly to their houses in the country; poisoned the affections of their neighbours towards the government; and lost nothing of their credit with the people; yet carried themselves so warily, that they did nothing to disturb the peace of the nation, or to give Cromwell any advantage against them upon which to call them in question.

There were another less wary, because a more desperate party, which were the levellers; many whereof had been the most active agitators in the army, who had executed his orders and designs in incensing the army against the parliament, and had been at that time his sole confidents and bedfellows; who, from the time that he assumed the title of protector, which to them was as odious as that of king, professed a mortal hatred to his person; and he well knew both these people had too much credit in his army, and with some principal officers of it. Of these men he stood in more fear than of all the king's party; of which he had in truth very little apprehension, though he coloured many of the preparations he made against the other, as if provided against the dangers threatened from them.

But the time drew near now, when he was obliged by the instrument of government, and upon his oath, to call a parliament; which seemed to him the only means left to compose the minds of the people to an entire submission to his government. In order to this meeting, though he did not observe the old course in sending writs out to all the little boroughs throughout England, which use to send burgesses, (in which there is so

great an inequality, that some single counties send more members to the parliament, than six other counties do,) he seemed to take a more equal way by appointing more knights for every shire to be chosen, and fewer burgesses; whereby the number of the whole was much lessened; and yet, the people being left to their own election, it was not thought an ill temperament, and was then generally looked upon as an alteration fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time. And so, upon the receipt of his writs, elections were made accordingly in all places; and such persons, for the most part, chosen and returned, as were believed to be the least affected to the present government, and to those who had any authority in it; there being strict order given, "that no person who had "ever been against the parliament during the time "of the civil war, or the sons of any such persons, "should be capable of being chosen to sit in that "parliament;" nor were any such persons made choice of.

The day of their meeting was the third of September in the year 1654, within less than a year after he had been declared protector; when, after they had been at a sermon in the abbey at Westminster, they all came into the painted chamber; where his highness made them a large discourse; and told them, "that that parliament was such a "congregation of wise, prudent, and discreet per-"sons, that England had scarce seen the like: that "he should forbear relating to them the series of "God's providence all along to that time, because "it was well known to them; and only declare to "them, that the erection of his present power was

" a suitable providence to the rest, by shewing " what a condition these nations were in at its " erection: that then every man's heart was against " another's, every man's interest divided against " another's, and almost every thing grown arbi- " trary: that there was grown up a general con- " tempt of God and Christ, the grace of God " turned into wantonness, and his Spirit made a " cloak for all wickedness and profaneness; nay, " that the axe was even laid to the root of the " ministry, and swarms of Jesuits were continu- " ally wafted over hither to consume and destroy " the welfare of England: that the nation was " then likewise engaged in a deep war with Por- " tugal, Holland, and France; so that the whole " nation was one heap of confusion: but that this " present government was calculated for the peo- " ple's interest, let malignant spirits say what they " would; and that, with humbleness towards God, " and modesty towards them, he would recount " somewhat in the behalf of the government. " First, it had endeavoured to reform the law; it " had put into the seat of justice men of known " integrity and ability; it had settled a way for " probation of ministers to preach the gospel: and " besides all this, it had called a free parliament: " that, blessed be God, they that day saw a free " parliament: then as to wars, that a peace was " made with Denmark, Sweden, the Dutch, and " Portugal, and was likewise near concluding with " France: that these things were but entrances, " and doors of hopes; but now he made no ques- " tion to enable them to lay the top stone of the " work, recommending to them that maxim, that

" peace, though it were made, was not to be " trusted farther than it consisted with interest: " that the great work which now lay upon this " parliament, was, that the government of England " might be settled upon terms of honour: that " they would avoid confusions, lest foreign states " should take advantage of them: that, as for " himself, he did not speak like one that would be " a lord over them, but as one that would be a " fellow-servant in that great affair:" and concluded, " that they should go to their house, and " there make choice of a speaker:" which they presently did, and seemed very unanimous in their first act, which was the making choice of William Lenthall to be their speaker; which agreement was upon very disagreeing principles. Cromwell having designed him, for luck's sake, and being well acquainted with his temper, concluded, that he would be made a property in this, as well as he had been in the long parliament, when he always complied with that party that was most powerful. And the other persons who meant nothing that Cromwell did, were well pleased, out of hope that the same man's being in the chair might facilitate the renewing and reviving the former house; which they looked upon as the true legitimate parliament, strangled by the tyranny of Cromwell, and yet that it had life enough left in it.

Lenthall was no sooner in his chair than it was proposed, " that they might in the first place con- " sider by what authority they came thither, and " whether that which had convened them had a " lawful power to that purpose." From which subject the protector's creatures, and those of the

army, endeavoured to divert them by all the arguments they could. Notwithstanding which, the current of the house insisted upon the first clearing that point, as the foundation, upon which all their counsels must be built: and as many of the members positively enough declared against that power, so one of them, more confident than the rest, said plainly, "that they might easily discern the snares "which were laid to entrap the privileges of the "people; and for his own part, as God had made "him instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one "person, so now he could not endure to see the "nation's liberties shackled by another, whose right "to the government could not be measured other-"wise than by the length of his sword, which "alone had emboldened him to command his com-"manders." This spirit prevailed so far, that, for eight days together, those of the council of officers, and others, (who were called the court party,) could not divert the question from being put, "whether the government should be by a pro-"tector and a parliament," any other way than by lengthening the debate, and then adjourning the house when the question was ready to be put, because they plainly saw that it would be carried in the negative.

The continuance of this warm debate in the house, in which the protector's own person was not treated with much reverence, exceedingly perplexed him; and obliged him once more to try, what respect his sovereign presence would produce towards a better composure. So he came again to the painted chamber, and sent for his parliament to come to him; and then told them, "that the great

" God of heaven and earth knew what grief and " sorrow of heart it was to him, to find them falling " into heats and divisions; that he would have " them take notice of this, that the same govern- " ment made him a protector, that made them a " parliament: that as they were intrusted in some " things, so was he in others: that in the govern- " ment were certain fundamentals, which could not " be altered, to wit, that the government should be " in a single person and a parliament; that parlia- " ments should not be perpetual, and always sit- " ting; that the militia should not be trusted into " one hand, or power, but so as the parliament " might have a check on the protector, and the " protector on the parliament; that in matters of " religion there ought to be a liberty of conscience, " and that persecution in the church was not to be " tolerated. These, he said, were unalterable " fundamentals. As for other things in the go- " vernment, they were examinable and alterable as " the state of affairs did require: that, for his own " part, he was even overwhelmed with grief, to see " that any of them should go about to overthrow " what was settled, contrary to the trust they had " received from the people; which could not but " bring very great inconveniences upon themselves " and the nation." When he had make this frank declaration unto them what they were to trust to, the better to confirm them in their duty, he had appointed a guard to attend at the door of the parliament house, and there to restrain all men from entering into the house who refused to subscribe this following engagement: " I do hereby promise " and engage to be true and faithful to the lord

" protector of the commonwealth of England, " Scotland, and Ireland; and shall not (according " to the tenor of this indenture, whereby I am " returned to serve in parliament) propose or give " my consent to alter the government as it is " settled in one person and a parliament."

This engagement the major part of the members utterly refused to sign; and called it a violation of the privilege of parliament, and an absolute depriving them of that freedom which was essential to it. So they were excluded, and restrained from entering into the house: and they who did subscribe it, and had thereupon liberty to sit there, were yet so refractory to any proposition that might settle him in the government in the manner he desired it, that, after the five months near spent in wrangling, and useless discourses, (during which he durst not attempt the dissolution of them, by his instrument of government,) he took the first opportunity to dissolve them; and upon the two and twentieth of January, with some reproaches, he let them know he could do the business without them; and so dismissed them with much evidence of his displeasure: and they again retired to their habitations, resolved to wait another opportunity of revenge, and in the mean time to give no evidence of their submitting to his usurpation, by undertaking any employment or office under his authority, he as carefully endeavouring and watching to find such an advantage against them, as might make them liable to the penalty of the laws. Yet even his weakness and impotency upon such a notorious advantage appeared in two very notable instances, which happened about that time, in the

case of two persons, whose names were then much taken notice of upon the stage of affairs, John Wildman and John Lilburn.

The former had been bred a scholar in the university of Cambridge, and being young, and of a pregnant wit, in the beginning of the rebellion meant to make his fortune in the war; and chose to depend upon Cromwell's countenance and advice, when he was not above the degree of a captain of a troop of horse himself, and was much esteemed and valued by him, and made an officer; and was so active in contriving and fomenting jealousies and discontents, and so dexterous in composing or improving any disgusts, and so inspired with the spirit of praying and preaching, when those gifts came into request, and became thriving arts, that about the time when the king was taken from Holmby, and it was necessary that the army should enter into contests with the parliament, John Wildman grew to be one of the principal agitators, and was most relied upon by Cromwell to infuse those things into the minds of the soldiers, and to conduct them in the managery of their discontents, as might most advance those designs he then had; and quickly got the reputation of a man of parts; and, having a smooth pen, drew many of the papers which first kindled the fire between the parliament and the army, that was not afterwards extinguished but in the ruin of both. His reputation in those faculties made him quit the army; where he was become a major; and where he kept still a great interest, and betook himself to civil affairs, in the solicitation of suits depending in the parliament, or before committees; where he

had much credit with those who had most power to do right or wrong, and so made himself necessary to those who had need of such protection from the tyranny of the time. By these arts he thrived, and got much more than he could have done in the army, and kept and increased his credit there, by the interest he had in other places. When Cromwell declined the ways of establishing the commonwealth, Wildman, amongst the rest, forsook him; and entered, warily, into any counsels which were like to destroy him: and upon the dissolution of this last parliament, having less of phlegm, and so less patience than other men, to expect another opportunity, and in the mean time to leave him to establish his greatness, he did believe he should be able to make such a schism in the army, as would give an opportunity to other enraged persons to take vengeance upon him.

Cromwell knew the man, and his undermining faculties; knew he had some design in hand, but could not make any such discovery as might warrant a public prosecution; but appointed some trusty spies (of which he had plenty) to watch him very narrowly, and, by being often with him, to find his papers; the spreading whereof, he knew, would be the preamble to any conspiracy of his. Shortly after the dissolution of that parliament, these instruments of Cromwell's surprised him in a room, where he thought he had been safe enough, as he was writing a declaration; and seized upon the papers; the title whereof was, "a declaration, "containing the reasons and motives which oblige "us to take up arms against Oliver Cromwell;" and though it was not finished, yet in that that

was done, there was all venom imaginable expressed against him, and a large and bitter narration of all his foul breach of trust, and perjuries, enough to have exposed any man to the severest judgment of that time; and as much as he could wish to discover against him, or any man whom he most desired to destroy. The issue was, the man was straitly imprisoned, and preparations made for his trial, and towards his execution, which all men expected. But, whether Cromwell found that there were more engaged with him than could be brought to justice, or were fit to be discovered, (as many men believed,) or that Wildman obliged himself for the time to come not only to be quiet, but to be a spy for him upon others, (as others at that time suspected, and had reason for it afterwards,) after a short time of imprisonment, the man was restored to his liberty; and resorted, with the same success and reputation, to his former course of life; in which he thrived very notably.

The case of John Lilburn was much more wonderful, and administered more occasion of discourse and observation. This man, before the troubles, was a poor bookbinder; and, for procuring some seditious pamphlets against the church and state to be printed and dispersed, had been severely censured in the star chamber, and received a sharp castigation, which made him more obstinate and malicious against them; and, as he afterwards confessed, in the melancholy of his imprisonment, and by reading the Book of Martyrs, he raised in himself a marvellous inclination and appetite to suffer in the defence or for the vindication of any oppressed truth; and found himself very much

confirmed in that spirit; and in that time diligently collected and read all those libels and books, which had anciently, as well as lately, been written against the church: from whence, with the venom, he had likewise contracted the impudence and bitterness of their style; and, by practice, brought himself to the faculty of writing like them: and so, when that license broke in of printing all that malice and wit could suggest, he published some pamphlets in his own name, full of that confidence and virulency, which might asperse the government most to the sense of the people, and to their humour. When the war begun, he put himself into the army; and was taken prisoner by the king's forces in that engagement at Brentford, shortly after the battle of Edge-hill; and being then a man much known, and talked of for his qualities above mentioned, he was not so well treated in prison as was like to reconcile him; and being brought before the chief justice, to be tried for treason by a commission of oyer and terminer, (in which method the king intended then to have proceeded against the rebels which should be taken,) he behaved himself with so great impudence, in extolling the power of the parliament, that it was manifest he had an ambition to have been made a martyr for that cause. But as he was liberally supplied from his friends at London, (and the parliament in express terms declared, "that they would inflict punishment upon "the prisoners they had of the king's party, in the "same manner as Lilburn and the rest should "suffer at Oxford,") so he did find means to corrupt the marshal who had the custody of him; and made his escape into the parliament quarters;

where he was received with public joy, as a champion that had defied the king in his own court.

From this time he was entertained by Cromwell with great familiarity, and, in his contests with the parliament, was of much use to him, and privacy with him. But he begun then to find him of so restless and unruly a spirit, and to make those advances in religion against the presbyterians before he thought it seasonable, that he dispensed with his presence in the army, where he was an officer of name, and made him reside in London, where he wished that temper should be improved. And when the parliament was so much offended with his seditious humour, and the pamphlets he published every day in religion, with reflections upon their proceedings, that they resolved to have proceeded against him with great rigour, (towards which the assembly of divines, which he had likewise provoked, contributed their desire and demand,) Cromwell writ a very passionate letter to the parliament, "that they would not so much "discourage their army, that was fighting for "them, as to censure an officer of it for his opinion "in point of conscience; for the liberty whereof, "and to free themselves from the shackles in "which the bishops would enslave them, that army "had been principally raised." Upon which, all farther prosecution against Lilburn was declined at that time, though he declined not the farther provocation; and continued to make the proceedings of the parliament as odious as he could. But from the time that Cromwell had dispersed that parliament, and made himself protector, and was, in effect, in possession of the sovereign power,

Lilburn withdrew his favour for him; and thought him now an enemy worthy of his displeasure; and, both in discourses and writings, in pamphlets and invectives, loaded him with all the aspersions of hypocrisy, lying, and tyranny, and all other imputations and reproaches which either he deserved, or the malice or bitterness of the other's nature could suggest to him, to make him the most universally odious that a faithless perjured person could be.

The protector could bear ill language and reproaches with less disturbance and concernment, than any person in authority had ever done: yet the persecution this man exercised him with, made him plainly discern that it would be impossible to preserve his dignity, or to have any security in the government, whilst his license continued; and therefore, after he had set spies upon him to observe his actions, and collect his words, and upon advice with his council at law, was confidently informed, "that, as well by the old established "laws, as by new ordinances, Lilburn was guilty "of high treason, and had forfeited his life, if he "were prosecuted in any court of justice," he caused him to be sent to Newgate, and at the next sessions to be indicted of high treason; all the judges being present, and the council at law to enforce the evidence, and all care being taken for the return of such a jury as might be fit for the importance of the case. Lilburn appeared undaunted, and with the confidence of a man that was to play a prize before the people for their own liberty; he pleaded not guilty, and heard all the charge and evidence against him with patience

enough, save that, by interrupting the lawyers, sometimes, who prosecuted him, and by sharp answers to some questions of the judges, he shewed that he had no reverence for their persons, nor any submission to their authority. The whole day was spent in his trial; and when he came to make his defence, he mingled so much law in his discourse to invalidate the authority of Cromwell, and to make it appear so tyrannical, that neither their lives, liberties, nor estates, were in any degree secure, whilst that usurpation was exercised; and answered all the matters objected against him with such an assurance, making them "to contain nothing of "high treason, and Cromwell to be a person "against whom high treason could not be com-"mitted;" and telling them "that all true born "Englishmen were obliged to oppose this tyranny, "as he had done purely for their sakes; and that "he had done it only for their sakes, and to pre-"serve them from being slaves, contrary to his own "profit and worldly interest:" he told them "how "much he had been in Cromwell's friendship: that "he might have received any benefit or preferment "from him, if he would have sat still, and seen his "country enslaved; which because he would not "do, he was brought hither to have his life taken "from him by their judgment; which he appre-"hended not:" he defended himself with that vigour, and charmed the jury so powerfully, that, against all the direction and charge the judges could give them, (who assured them, "that the "words and actions fully proved against the pri-"soner, were high treason by the law; and that "they were bound, by all the obligation of con-

"science, to find him guilty,") after no long consultation between themselves, they returned with their verdict, "that he was not guilty:" nor could they be persuaded by the judges to change or recede from their judgment: which infinitely enraged and perplexed the protector; who looked upon it as a greater defeat than the loss of a battle would have been; and would never suffer him to be set at liberty, as by the law he ought to have been, but sent him from prison to prison, and kept him enclosed there till he himself died. These two instances of persons not otherwise considerable are thought pertinent to be inserted, as an evidence of the temper of the nation; and how far the spirits of that time were from paying a submission to that power, when nobody had the courage to lift up their hands against it.

Whatever uneasiness and perplexity Cromwell found in his condition at home, the king found no benefit from it abroad, or from the friendship or the indignation of other princes; they had all the same terrible apprehension of Cromwell's power as if he had been landed with an army in any of thei dominions, and looked upon the king's condition as desperate, and not to be supported. The treaty between France and England proceeded very fast; and every day produced fresh evidence of the good intelligence between Cromwell and the cardinal. The ships and prisoners which had been taken when they went to relieve Dunkirk, and by the taking whereof Dunkirk had been lost, were now restored, and set at liberty; and such mutual offices performed between them, as, with frequent evidences of aversion from the king and his interest,

made it very manifest to his majesty, that his residence would not be suffered to continue longer in France, after the alliance should be published with Cromwell; which was not yet perfected, by the cardinal's blushing to consent to some propositions, without which the other's fast friendship was not to be obtained; and he was not willing that modesty should be conquered at once, though every body knew it would quickly be prostituted.

There could be no doubt but that the king was heartily weary of being in a place where he was so ill treated; where he lived so uncomfortably, and from whence he foresaw that he should soon be driven. But as he had no money to enable him to remove, or to pay the debts he owed there, so he knew not to what place to repair, where he might find a civil reception. Holland was bound not to admit him into their dominions, and by their example had shewed other princes and states, what conditions they must submit to who would be allies to Cromwell. The king of Spain was at the same time contending with France for Cromwell's friendship, and thought he had some advantage with him by the residence his majesty had in France: so there could be no thought of repairing into Flanders, and that he could be admitted to stay there. The protestants, in all places, expressed much more inclination to his rebels than to him. The Roman catholics looked upon him as in so desperate a condition, that he would in a short time be necessitated to throw himself into their arms by changing his religion, without which they all declared, "they "would never give him the least assistance." In

this distress, his majesty resumed the considerations he had formerly entered upon, of sending to the diet; which was summoned by the emperor to meet shortly at Ratisbon, to make choice of a king of the Romans. And Germany being then in peace, the emperor made little doubt of finding a concurrence in the choice of the king of Hungary his eldest son to be made king of the Romans, and thereby to be sure to succeed him in the empire. Our king had long designed to send the lord Wilmot on that errand, to try what the emperor, and princes of Germany, would do, in such a conjuncture, towards the uniting all other princes with themselves, in undertaking a quarrel they were all concerned in, to restore a prince so injured and oppressed by so odious a rebellion; and in the mean time, of which there appeared to be more hope, what contribution they would make towards his support; and likewise, upon this occasion, what fit place might be found, in the nearest parts of Germany, for the king to repair to; where he might attend his better destiny.

It was most suitable to the occasion, and the necessity of the king's condition, that this affair should be despatched in as private a way as was possible, and with as little expense, it being impossible to send an ambassador in such an equipage, as, at such an illustrious convention of all the princes of the empire, was necessary. Wilmot pressed very much for that character, that he might the more easily accomplish his being made an earl; for which he had obtained the king's promise in a fit season. And he took great pains to persuade the king, "that this was a proper season,

"and very much for the advancement of his ser-
"vice: but, that if he had the title of an earl,
"which would be looked upon as a high qualifica-
"tion, he would not assume the character of am-
"bassador, though he would carry such a com-
"mission with him, but make all his negociations
"as a private envoy;" of which he promised the king wonderful effects, and pretended to have great assurance of money, and of making levies of men for any expedition. The king, rather to comply with the general expectation, and to do all that was in his power to do, than out of any hope of notable advantage from this agitation, was contented to make him earl of Rochester; and gave him all such commissions and credentials, as were necessary for the employment; and sent him from Paris in the Christmas time, that he might be at Ratisbon at the meeting of the diet, which was to be in the beginning of April following; means having been found to procure so much money as was necessary for that journey, out of the assignment that had been made to the king for his support: of which there was a great arrear due, and which the cardinal caused at this time to be supplied, because he looked upon this sending to Ratisbon as a preparatory for the king's own remove.

Though Scotland was vanquished, and subdued, to that degree, that there was no place nor person who made the least shew of opposing Cromwell; who, by the administration of Monk, made the yoke very grievous to the whole nation; yet the preachers kept their pulpit license; and, more for the affront that was offered to presbytery, than the

conscience of what was due to majesty, many of them presumed to pray for the king; and generally, though secretly, exasperated the minds of the people against the present government. The Highlanders, by the advantage of their situation, and the hardiness of that people, made frequent incursions in the night into the English quarters; and killed many of their soldiers, but stole more of their horses: and where there was most appearance of peace and subjection, if the soldiers straggled in the night, or went single in the day, they were always knocked on the head; and no inquiry could discover the malefactors.

Many expresses were sent to the king, as well from those who were prisoners in England, as from some lords who were at liberty in Scotland, "that "Middleton might be sent into the Highlands with "his majesty's commission;" and in the mean time the earl of Glencarne, a gallant gentleman, offered, if he were authorized by the king, to draw a body of horse and foot together in the Highlands, and infest the enemy, and be ready to submit to Middleton, as soon as he should arrive there with a supply of arms and ammunition. Accordingly the king had sent a commission to the earl of Glencarne; who behaved himself very worthily, and gave Monk some trouble. But he pressing very earnestly, that Middleton might be sent over to compose some animosities and emulations, which were growing up to the breaking off that union, without which nothing could succeed, his majesty, about the time that the earl of Rochester was despatched for Ratisbon, sent likewise Middleton into Scotland, with some few officers of

that nation, and such a poor supply of arms and ammunition, as, by the activity and industry of Middleton, could be got upon the credit and contribution of some merchants and officers in Holland of that nation, who were willing to redeem their country from the slavery it was in. With this very slender assistance he transported himself in the winter into the Highlands; where, to welcome him, he found the few, whom he looked to find in arms, more broken with faction amongst themselves than by the enemy; nor was he able to reconcile them. But after Glencarne had delivered his thin unarmed troops to Middleton, and condescended to fight a duel with an inferior officer, who provoked him to it after he was out of his command, whether he was troubled to have another command over him, who, upon the matter, had no other men to command but what were raised by him, though he had exceedingly pressed Middleton's being sent over to that purpose, or whether convinced with the impossibility of the attempt, he retired first to his own house, and then made his peace with Monk, that he might live quietly, and retained still his affection and fidelity to the king; which he made manifest afterwards in a more favourable conjuncture: and at the same time he excused himself to the king, for giving over an enterprize which he was not able to prosecute, though Middleton sustained it a full year afterwards.

The truth is, the two persons who were most concerned in that expedition had no degree of hope that it would be attended with any success; the king, and Middleton; who had both seen an

army of that people, well provided with all things necessary, not able to do any thing where they fought upon terms more advantageous. And how could those now, drawn together by chance, half armed and undisciplined, be able to contend with victorious troops, which wanted nothing, and would hardly part with what they had got? But his majesty could not refuse to give them leave to attempt what they believed they could go through with; and Middleton, who had promised them to come to them, when he was assured he should be enabled to carry over with him two thousand men, and good store of arms, thought himself obliged to venture his life with them who expected him, though he could carry no more with him than is mentioned; and by his behaviour there, notwithstanding all discouragements, he manifested how much he would have done, if others had performed half their promises.

It will not be amiss in this place to mention an adventure that was made during his being in the Highlands, which deserves to be recorded for the honour of the undertakers. There was attending upon the king a young gentleman, one Mr. Wogan, a very beautiful person, of the age of three or four and twenty. This gentleman had, when he was a youth of fifteen or sixteen years, been, by the corruption of some of his nearest friends, engaged in the parliament service against the king; where the eminency of his courage made him so much taken notice of, that he was of general estimation, and beloved by all; but so much in the friendship of Ireton, under whom he had the command of a troop of horse, that no man was so much in credit

with him. By the time of the murder of the king he was so much improved in age and understanding, that, by that horrible and impious murder, and by the information and advice of sober men in his conversation, he grew into so great a detestation of all that people, that he thought of nothing but to repair his own reputation, by taking vengeance of those who had cozened and misled him: and in order thereunto, as soon as the marquis of Ormond resumed the government of Ireland again for the king, (which was the only place then where any arms were borne for his majesty,) captain Wogan repaired thither to him through Scotland; and behaved himself with such signal valour, that the marquis of Ormond gave him the command of his own guards, and every man the testimony of deserving it. He came over with the marquis into France; and, being restless to be in action, no sooner heard of *Middleton's* being arrived in Scotland, than *he resolved* to find himself with him; and immediately asked the king's leave not only for himself, but for as many of the young men about the court as he could persuade to go with him; declaring to his majesty, "that he resolved "to pass through England." The king, who had much grace for him, dissuaded him from the undertaking, for the difficulty and danger of it, and denied to give him leave. But neither his majesty, nor the marquis of Ormond, could divert him; and his importunity continuing, he was left to follow his inclinations: and there was no news so much talked of in the court, as that captain Wogan would go into England, and from thence march into Scotland to general Middleton; and many

young gentlemen, and others, who were in Paris, listed themselves with him for the expedition. He went then to the chancellor of the exchequer; who, during the time of the king's stay in France, executed the office of secretary of state, to desire the despatch of such passes, letters, and commissions, as were necessary for the affair he had in hand. The chancellor had much kindness for him, and having heard of his design by the common talk of the court, and from the loose discourses of some of those who resolved to go with him, represented "the danger of the enterprise to himself, and the "dishonour that would reflect upon the king, for "suffering men under his pass, and with his com-"mission, to expose themselves to inevitable ruin: "that it was now the discourse of the town, and "would without doubt be known in England and "to Cromwell, before he and his friends could get "thither, so that they would be apprehended the "first minute they set their foot on shore; and "how much his own particular person was more "liable to danger than other men's he knew well;" and, upon the whole matter, very positively dissuaded him from proceeding farther.

He answered most of the particular considerations with contempt of the danger, and confidence of going through with it, but with no kind of reason (a talent that did not then abound in him) to make it appear probable. Whereupon the chancellor expressly refused to make his despatches, till he could speak with the king; "with whom," he said, "he would do the best he could to persuade "his majesty to hinder his journey;" with which the captain was provoked to so great passion, that

he broke into tears, and besought him not to dissuade the king; and seemed so much transported with the resolution of the adventure, as if he would not outlive the disappointment. This passion so far prevailed with the king, that he caused all his despatches to be made, and delivered to him. And the very next day he and his companions, being seven or eight in number, went out of Paris together, and took post for Calais.

They landed at Dover, continued their journey to London, and walked the town; stayed there above three weeks, till they had bought horses, which they quartered at common inns, and listed men enough of their friends and acquaintance to prosecute their purpose. And then they appointed their rendezvous at Barnet, marched out of London as Cromwell's soldiers, and from Barnet were full fourscore horse well armed and appointed, and quartered that night at St. Alban's; and from thence, by easy journeys, but out of the common roads, marched safely into Scotland; beat up some quarters which lay in their way, and without any misadventure joined Middleton in the Highlands; where poor Wogan, after many brave actions performed there, received upon a party an ordinary flesh wound; which, for want of a good surgeon, proved mortal to him, to the very great grief of Middleton, and all who knew him. Many of the troopers, when they could stay no longer there, found their way again through England, and returned to the king.

In the distress which the king suffered during his abode in France, the chancellor of the exchequer's part was the most uneasy and grievous.

For though all who were angry with him were as angry with the marquis of Ormond, who lived in great friendship with him, and was in the same trust with the king in all his counsels which were reserved from others; yet the marquis's quality, and the great services he had performed, and the great sufferings he underwent for the crown, made him above all their exceptions: and they believed his aversion from all their devices to make marriages, and to traffic in religion, proceeded most from the credit the other had with him. And the queen's displeasure grew so notorious against the chancellor, that after he found that she would not speak to him, nor take any notice of him when she saw him, he forbore at last coming in her presence; and for many months did not see her face, though he had the honour to lodge in the same house, the palace royal, where both their majesties kept their courts; which encouraged all who desired to ingratiate themselves with her majesty, to express a great prejudice to the chancellor, at least to withdraw from his conversation: and the queen was not reserved in declaring, that she did exceedingly desire to remove him from the king; which nothing kept him from desiring also, in so uncomfortable a condition, but the conscience of his duty, and the confidence his majesty had in his fidelity.

This disinclination towards him produced, at one and the same time, a conspiracy of an odd nature, and a union between two very irreconcilable factions, the papists and the presbyterians: which was discovered to the king by a false brother, before the chancellor had any intimation of it.

The lord Balcarris, with Dr. Frazier, and some other Scots about the court, thought themselves enough qualified to undertake in the name of all the presbyterians; and caused a petition to be prepared, in which they set out, "that the presbyterian party had great affections to serve his majesty, and much power to do it; and that they had many propositions and advices to offer to his majesty for the advancement thereof: but that they were discouraged, and hindered from offering the same, by reason that his majesty intrusted his whole affairs to the chancellor of the exchequer; who was an old known and declared enemy to all their party; in whom they could repose no trust: and therefore they besought his majesty, that he might be removed from his council, at least not be suffered to be privy to any thing that should be proposed by them; and they should then make it appear how ready and how able they were in a very short time to advance his majesty's affairs."

Another petition was prepared in the name of his Roman catholic subjects; which said, "that all his majesty's party which had adhered to him, were now totally suppressed; and had, for the most part, compounded with his enemies, and submitted to their government: that the church-lands were all sold, and the bishops dead, except very few, who durst not exercise their function: so that he could expect no more aid from any who were concerned to support the government of the church as it had been formerly established: that by the defeat of duke Hamilton's army first, and then by his majesty's ill

" success at Worcester, and the total reduction of " the kingdom of Scotland afterwards by Crom- " well, his majesty might conclude what greater " aid he was to expect from the presbyterian " party. Nothing therefore remained to him of " hope for his restoration, but from the affection " of his Roman catholic subjects; who, as they " would never be wanting as to their persons, and " their estates which were left, so they had hope " to draw from the catholic princes, and the pope " himself, such considerable assistance both in men " and money, that his majesty should owe his " restitution, under the blessing of God, to the " sole power and assistance of the catholics. But " they had great reason to fear, that all these " hopes would be obstructed and rendered of no " use, not only by there being no person about his " majesty in whom the catholics could have any " confidence, but by reason that the person most " trusted by him, and through whose hands all " letters and despatches must pass, is a known " enemy to all catholics; and therefore they be- " sought his majesty, that that person, the chan- " cellor of the exchequer, might be removed from " him; whereupon he should find great benefit to " accrue to his service." They concluded, that when these two petitions should be weighed and considered, the queen would easily convince his majesty, that a person who was so odious to all the Roman catholics, from whose affections his majesty had most reason to promise himself relief, and to all the protestants who could contribute to his assistance or subsistence, could not be fit to be continued in any trust about him.

When matters were thus adjusted, which were the longer in preparation, because the persons concerned could not, without suspicion and scandal, meet together, but were to be treated with by persons mutually employed, one Mr. Walsingham, a person very well known to all men who at that time knew the palace royal, who had been employed in the affair, came to the king, and, whether out of ingenuity, and dislike of so foul a combination, or as he thought the discovery would be grateful to his majesty, informed him of the whole intrigue, and gave a copy of the petitions to the king; who shewed them to the marquis of Ormond, and the chancellor of the exchequer; and informed them of the whole intrigue. And from this time his majesty made himself very merry with the design, and spoke of it sometimes at dinner, when the queen was present; and asked pleasantly, "when the two petitions would be brought "against the chancellor of the exchequer?" which being quickly known to some of the persons engaged in the prosecution, they gave it over, and thought not fit to proceed any farther in it; though both factions continued their implacable malice towards him, nor did he find any ease or quiet by their giving over that design, their animosities against him still breaking out one after another, as long as the king remained in France; the queen taking all occasions to complain to the queen regent of the king's unkindness, that she might impute all that she disliked to the chancellor; and the queen mother of France was like to be very tender in a point that so much concerned herself,

that any man should dare to interpose between the mother and the son.

There was an accident fell out, that administered some argument to make those complaints appear more reasonable. The cardinal de Retz had always expressed great civilities towards the king, and a desire to serve him; and upon some occasional conference between them, the cardinal asked the king, "whether he had made any attempt to draw "any assistance from the pope, and whether he "thought that nothing might be done that way to "his advantage?" The king told him, "nothing "had been attempted that way; and that he was "better able to judge, whether the pope was like "to do any thing for a man of his faith." The cardinal smiling, said, "he had no thought of "speaking of his faith;" yet in short, he spoke to him like a wise and honest man; "that if any "overtures were made him of the change of his "religion, he must tell his majesty, it became him "as a cardinal to wish his majesty a catholic for "the saving his soul; but he must declare too, "that if he did change his religion, he would "never be restored to his kingdoms." But he said, "he did believe," (though the pope was old, and much decayed in his generosity; for Innocent the Tenth was then living,) "that if some proper "application was made to the princes of Italy, and "to the pope himself, though there would not be "gotten wherewithal to raise and maintain armies, "there might be somewhat considerable obtained "for his more pleasant support, wherever he "should choose to reside." He said, "he had

" himself some alliance with the great duke, and " interest in other courts, and in Rome itself; and " if his majesty would give him leave, and trust " his discretion, he would write in such a manner " in his own name to some of his friends, as " should not be of any prejudice to his majesty, if " it brought him no convenience." The king had reason to acknowledge the obligation, and to leave it to his own wisdom, what he would do. In the conclusion of the discourse, the cardinal asked his majesty a question or two of matter of fact, which he could not answer; but told him, " he would " give a punctual information of it the next day " in a letter:" which the cardinal desired might be as soon as his majesty thought fit, because he would, upon the receipt of it, make his despatches into Italy. The particular things being out of the king's memory, as soon as he returned, he asked the chancellor of the exchequer concerning them; and having received a punctual account from him, his majesty writ a letter the next day to the cardinal, and gave him information as to those particulars. Within very few days after this, the cardinal coming one day to the Louvre to see the queen mother, he was arrested by the captain of the guard, and sent prisoner to the Bastille; and in one of his pockets, which they searched, that letter the king had sent to him was found, and delivered to the queen regent; who presently imparted it to the queen of England; and after they had made themselves merry with some improprieties in the French, the king having, for the secresy, not consulted with any body, they discovered some purpose of applying to the pope, and to other

catholic princes; and that his majesty should enter upon any such counsel, without first consulting with the queen his mother, could proceed only from the instigation of the chancellor of the exchequer.

Her majesty, with a very great proportion of sharpness, reproached the king for his neglect, and gave him his letter. The king was exceedingly sensible of the little respect the queen mother had shewed towards him, in communicating his letter in that manner to his mother; and expostulated with her for it; and took that occasion to enlarge more upon the injustice of his mother's complaints, than he had ever done. And from that time the queen mother, who was in truth a very worthy lady, shewed much more kindness to the king. And a little time after, there being a masque at the court that the king liked very well, he persuaded the chancellor to see it; and vouchsafed, the next night, to carry him thither himself, and to place the marquis of Ormond and him next the seat where all their majesties were to sit. And when they entered, the queen regent asked, "who that "fat man was who sat by the marquis of Or-"mond?" The king told her aloud, "that was "the naughty man who did all the mischief, and "set him against his mother:" at which the queen herself was little less disordered than the chancellor was, who blushed very much. But they within hearing laughed so much, that the queen was not displeased; and somewhat was spoken to his advantage, whom few thought to deserve the reproach.

At this time the king was informed by the

French court, " that prince Rupert, who had been " so long absent, having gone with the fleet from " Holland before the murder of the late king, and " had not been heard of in some years, was now " upon the coast of France, and soon after at " Nantes, in the province of Bretagne, with the " Swallow, a ship of the king's, and with three or " four other ships: and that the Constant Re- " formation, another ship of the king's, in which " prince Maurice had been, was cast away in the " Indies near two years before; and that prince " Rupert himself was returned with very ill health." The king sent presently to welcome him, and to invite him to Paris to attend his health; and his majesty presumed that, by the arrival of this fleet, which he thought must be very rich, he should receive some money, that would enable him to remove out of France; of which he was as weary as it was of him.

Great expectation was raised in the English court, that there would be some notable change upon the arrival of this prince; and though he had professed much kindness to the chancellor of the exchequer, when he parted from Holland, yet there was hope that he would not appear now his friend, the rather for that he had left Ireland with some declared unkindness towards the marquis of Ormond. And all men knew that the attorney general, who was unsatisfied with every body, would have most influence upon that prince; and that his highness could not be without credit enough with the king to introduce him into business; which they thought would at least lessen the chancellor. In order to which, it was no sooner

known that prince Rupert was landed in France, but the lord Jermyn visited and made great court to sir Edward Herbert; between whom and him there had been greater show of animosity than between any two of the nation who were beyond the seas, they having for some years seldom spoken to, never well of, each other. And Herbert, who was of a rough and proud nature, had declared publicly, "that he would have no friendship with "any man who believed the other to be an honest "man." Between these two a great friendship is suddenly made; and the attorney is every day with the queen, who had shewed a greater aversion from him than from any man, not only upon the business of the duke of York, but upon many other occasions. But now she commended him to the king, "as a wise man, of great experience, and of great "interest in England."

From the death of sir Richard Lane, who had been keeper of the great seal under his late majesty, there had not only been no officer in that place, but, from the defeat at Worcester, the king had been without any great seal, it having been there lost. But he had lately employed a graver to prepare a great seal; which he kept himself, not intending to confer that office, whilst he remained abroad. But now the queen pressed the king very earnestly, to make the attorney general lord keeper of the great seal; which was a promotion very natural, men ordinarily rising from the one office to the other. The king knew the man very well, and had neither esteem nor kindness for him; yet he well foresaw, that when prince Rupert came to him, he should be pressed both by his mother and him so impor-

tunately, that he should not with any ease be able to refuse it. Then he believed that, if the man himself were in good humour, he would be of great use in composing any ill humour that should arise in the prince; to which it was apprehended he might be apt to be inclined. And therefore his majesty thought it best (since nobody dissuaded him from the thing) to oblige him frankly himself before the prince came; and so called him to his council, and made him lord keeper of the great seal; with which he seemed wonderfully delighted; and for some time lived well towards every body; though, as to any thing of business, he appeared only in his old excellent faculty of raising doubts, and objecting against any thing that was proposed, and proposing nothing himself; which was a temper of understanding he could not rectify, and, in the present state of affairs, did less mischief than it would have done in a time when any thing was to have been done.

Before the prince came to Paris he gave the king such an account, as made it evident that his majesty was to expect no money: "that what treasure "had been gotten together, which, he confessed, "had amounted to great value, had been all lost in "the ship in which himself was," (that sprung a plank in the Indies, when his highness was miraculously preserved,) "and, in the boat, carried to "another ship, when that the Antelope, with all "the men, and all that had been gotten, sunk in "the sea; and that much of the other purchase "had been likewise cast away in the ship in which "his brother perished; which was after his own "misfortune:" so that all that was brought into

Nantes would scarce pay off the seamen, and discharge some debts at Toulon, which the prince had contracted at his former being there, during the time that the king had been in Holland: and, "that the ships were all so eaten with worms, even "the Swallow itself, that there was no possibility "of setting them out again to sea." This was all the account the king could receive of that whole affair, when the prince himself came to Paris; with which though the king was not satisfied, yet he knew not how to remedy it, the prince taking it very ill that any account should be required of him; and the keeper quickly persuaded his highness, that it was only the chancellor of the exchequer's influence, that disposed the king with so much strictness to examine his account.

There was another design now set on foot, by which they concluded they should sufficiently mortify the chancellor; who, they thought, had still too much credit with his master. When the king went into Scotland, Mr. Robert Long, who hath been mentioned before, was secretary of state; who, having been always a creature of the queen's, and dependent upon the lord Jermyn, had so behaved himself towards them, during his short stay in Scotland, (for he was one of those who was removed from the king there, and sent out of that kingdom,) that when his majesty returned from Worcester to Paris, they would by no means suffer that he should wait upon his majesty; and accused him of much breach of trust, and dishonesty, and, amongst the rest, that he should say, which could be proved, "that it was impossible for any man to "serve the king honestly, and to preserve the good

" opinion of the queen, and keep the lord Jermyn's " favour." The truth is, that gentleman had not the good fortune to be generally well thought of, and the king did not believe him faultless; and therefore was contented to satisfy his mother, and would not permit him to execute his office, or to attend in his councils. Whereupon he left the court, and lived privately at Rouen; which was the reason that the chancellor had been commanded to execute that place, which entitled him to so much trouble. Upon this conjunction between the lord Jermyn and the keeper, the last of whom had in all times inveighed against Mr. Long's want of fidelity, they agreed, that there could not be a better expedient found out to lessen the chancellor's credit, than by restoring Long to the execution of the secretary's function. Whereupon they sent for him, and advised him to prepare a petition to the king, " that he might be again restored to " his office and attendance, or that he might be " charged with his crimes, and be farther punished, " if he did not clear himself, and appear innocent." This petition was presented to the king, when he was in council, by the queen; who came thither only for that purpose, and desired that it might be read; which being done, the king was surprised, having not in the least received any notice of it; and said, " that her majesty was the principal " cause that induced his majesty to remove him " from his place, and that she then believed that " he was not fit for the trust." She said, " she " had now a better opinion of him, and that she " had been misinformed." The king thought it unfit to receive a person into so near a trust,

against whose fidelity there had been such public exceptions; and his majesty knew that few of his friends in England would correspond with him; and therefore would not be persuaded to restore him. This was again put all upon the chancellor's account, and the influence he had upon the king.

Thereupon Mr. Long accused the chancellor of having betrayed the king; and undertook to prove that he had been over in England, and had private conference with Cromwell: which was an aspersion so impossible, that every body laughed at it: yet because he undertook to prove it, the chancellor pressed, "that a day might be appointed for him "to produce his proof:" and at that day the queen came again to the council, that she might be present at the charge. There Mr. Long produced Massonet, a man who had served him, and afterwards been an under-clerk for writing letters and commissions, during the time of the king's being in Scotland, and had been taken prisoner at Worcester; and, being released with the rest of the king's servants, had been employed, from the time of the king's return, in the same service under the chancellor; the man having, before the troubles, taught the king, and the duke of York, and the rest of the king's children to write, being indeed the best writer, in Latin as well as English, for the fairness of the hand, of any man in that time.

Massonet said, "that after his release from his "imprisonment, and whilst he stayed in London, "he spoke with a maid, who had formerly served "him, that knew the chancellor very well, and who "assured him, that one evening she had seen the

" chancellor go into Cromwell's chamber at White-
" hall; and after he had been shut up with him
" some hours, she saw him conducted out again."
And Mr. Long desired time, that he might send over for this woman, who should appear and justify it. To this impossible discourse, the chancellor said, " he would make no other defence, than that
" there were persons then in the town, who, he
" was confident, would avow that they had seen
" him once every day, from the time he returned
" from Spain to the day on which he attended his
" majesty at Paris;" as indeed there were; and when he had said so, he offered to go out of the room; which the king would not have him to do. But he told his majesty, " that it was the course;
" and that he ought not to be present at the debate
" that was to concern himself;" and the keeper, with some warmth, said, " it was true;" and so he retired to his own chamber. The lord Jermyn, as soon as he was gone, said, " he never thought
" the accusation had any thing of probability in it;
" and that he believed the chancellor a very honest
" man: but the use that he thought ought to be
" made of this calumny, was, that it appeared that
" an honest and innocent man might be calumniated,
" as he thought Mr. Long had likewise been; and
" therefore they ought both to be cleared." The keeper said, " he saw not ground enough to con-
" demn the chancellor; but he saw no cause neither
" to declare him innocent: that there was one wit-
" ness which declared only what he had heard; but
" that he undertook also to produce the witness
" herself, if he might have time; which in justice
" could not be denied; and therefore he proposed,

" that a competent time might be given to Mr. " Long to make out his proof; and that in the mean " time the chancellor might not repair to the " council:" with which proposition the king was so offended, that, with much warmth, he said, " he " discerned well the design; and that it was so " false and wicked a charge, that, if he had no " other exception against Mr. Long than this foul " and foolish accusation, it was cause enough never " to trust him." And therefore he presently sent for the chancellor, and, as soon as he came in, commanded him to sit in his place; and told him, " he was sorry he was not in a condition to do him " more justice than to declare him innocent;" which he did do, and commanded the clerk of the council to draw up a full order for his vindication, which his majesty himself would sign.

The keeper could not contain himself from appearing very much troubled: and said, " if what " he heard from a person of honour, who, he " thought, would justify it, were true, the chan- " cellor had aspersed the king in such a manner, " and so much [reviled] his majesty in point of his " honour, that he was not fit to sit there." The chancellor was wonderfully surprised with the charge; and humbly besought his majesty, " that " the lord keeper might produce his author, or be " looked upon as the contriver of the scandal." The keeper answered, " that if his majesty would " appoint an hour the next day for the council to " meet, he would produce the person, who, he was " confident, would justify all he had said."

The next day, the king being sat in council, the keeper desired that the lord Gerard might be called

in; who presently appeared; and being asked, "whether he had at any time heard the chancellor "of the exchequer speak ill of the king?" he answered, "Yes." And thereupon made a relation of a conference that had passed between the chancellor and him a year before, when the king lay at Chantilly; "that one day, after dinner, the king "took the air, and being in the field his majesty "alighted out of his coach, and took his horse, "with other of the lords, to ride into the next field "to see a dog set partridge; and that he, the lord "Gerard, and the chancellor remained in the coach, "when he entered into discourse of the king's "condition; and said, that he thought his majesty "was not active enough, nor did think of his busi-"ness; and, that the chancellor, who was known "to have credit with him, ought to advise him to "be active, for his honour and his interest; other-"wise, his friends would fall from him. But, that "it was generally believed, that he, the chancellor, "had no mind that his majesty should put himself "into action, but was rather for sitting still; and "therefore it concerned him, for his own justifi-"cation, to persuade the king to be active, and "to leave France, where he could not but observe "that every body was weary of him. To all which "the chancellor took great pains to purge himself "from being in the fault; and said, that nobody "could think that he could take delight to stay in "a place where he was so ill used; but laid all the "fault upon the king; who, he said, was indisposed "to business, and took too much delight in plea-"sures, and did not love to take pains; for which "he was heartily sorry, but could not help it;

" which," Gerard said, " he thought was a great " reproach and scandal upon the king, from a man " so obliged and trusted, who ought not to asperse " his master in that manner."

The chancellor was a little out of countenance; and said, " he did not expect that accusation from " any body, less that the lord Gerard should dis- " cover any private discourse that had passed a " year before between them two, and which ap- " peared by his relation to have been introduced " by himself, and by his own freedom: that who- " soever believed that he had a mind to traduce the " king, would never believe that he would have " chosen the lord Gerard, who was known to be " none of his friend, to have communicated it to." He said, " he did very well remember, that the " lord Gerard did, at that time when they two " remained alone in the coach, very passionately " censure the king's not being active, and blamed " him, the chancellor, for not persuading his " majesty to put himself into action; and that he " was generally believed to be in the fault. Upon " which he had asked him, what he did intend by " being active, and what that action was, and " where, to which he wished the king should be " persuaded? He answered, with an increase of " passion, and addition of oaths, that rather than " sit still in France, his majesty ought to go to " every court in Christendom; that, instead of send- " ing an ambassador who was not fit for any busi- " ness, he should have gone himself to the diet at " Ratisbon, and solicited his own business; which " would have been more effectual: and that, if he " could not find any other way to put himself into

"action, he ought to go into the Highlands of "Scotland to Middleton, and there try his for- "tune." To all which the chancellor said, he did remember that he replied, "he believed the king "was indisposed to any of that action he proposed: "and though he did not believe that he had used "those expressions, of the king's delighting in "pleasures, and not loving business so well as he "ought to do, if the lord Gerard would positively "affirm he had, he would rather confess it, and "submit himself to his majesty's judgment, if he "thought such words proceeded from any malice "in his heart towards him, than, by denying it, "continue the debate:" and then he offered to retire; which the king forbid him to do; upon which the keeper was very angry; and said, "the "words amounted to an offence of a high nature; "and that he was sorry his majesty was no more "sensible of them: that for any man, especially a "counsellor, and a man in so near trust, to accuse "his master of not loving his business, and being "inclined to pleasures, was to do all he could to "persuade all men to forsake him;" and proceed- ing with his usual warmth and positiveness, the king interrupted him; and said, "he did really "believe the chancellor had used those very words, "because he had often said that, and much more, "to himself; which he had never taken ill: that he "did really believe that he was himself in fault, and "did not enough delight in his business; which "was not very pleasant; but he did not know that "such putting himself into action, which was the "common word, as the lord Gerard advised, was "like to be attended with those benefits, which,

"he was confident, he wished." In fine, he declared, "he was very well satisfied in the chancel-"lor's affection, and took nothing ill that he had "said;" and directed the clerk of the council to enter such his majesty's declaration in his book; with which both the keeper and the lord Gerard were very ill satisfied. But from that time there were no farther public attempts against the chancellor, during the time of his majesty's abode in France. But it may not be unseasonable to insert in this place, that after the king's return into England, there came the woman to the chancellor, who had been carried over to Rouen by Massonet, and importuned by Mr. Long to testify that she had seen the chancellor with Cromwell; for which she should have a present liberal reward in money from him, and a good service at Paris; which when the woman refused to do, he gave her money for her journey back, and so she returned: of which the chancellor informed the king. But Mr. Long himself coming at the same time to him, and making great acknowledgments, and asking pardon, the chancellor frankly remitted the injury, and would make no more words of it; which Mr. Long seemed to acknowledge with great gratitude ever after.

The king, wearied with these domestic vexations, as well as with the uneasiness of his entertainment, and the change he every day discovered in the countenance of the French court to him, grew very impatient to leave France; and though he was totally disappointed of the expectation he had to receive money by the return of prince Rupert with that fleet, he hoped that, when the prizes should

be sold, and all the seamen discharged, and prince Rupert satisfied his demands, which were very large, there would be still left the ships, and ordnance, and tackling, which (though they required great charge to be fitted out again to sea, yet) if sold, he presumed, would yield a good sum of money to enable him to remove, and support him some time after he was removed; for there were, besides the ship itself, fifty good brass guns on board the Swallow, which were very valuable. His majesty therefore writ to prince Rupert, (who was returned to Nantes to discharge some seamen, who still remained, and to sell the rest of the prizes,) "that he should find some good chapmen to buy "the ships, and ordnance, and tackle, at the value "they were worth:" which was no sooner known at Nantes, than there appeared chapmen enough, besides the marshal of Melleray, who being governor of that place, and of the province, had much money still by him to lay out on such occasions. And the prince writ the king word, "that he had "then a good chapman, who would pay well for "the brass cannon; and that he should put off all "the rest at good rates." But he writ again the next week, "that, when he had even finished the "contract for the brass cannon, there came an "order from the court, that no man should pre-"sume to buy the brass cannon, and to marshal "Melleray to take care that they were not carried "out of that port."

The prince apprehended, that this unexpected restraint proceeded from some claim and demand from Cromwell; and then expected, that it would likewise relate to the Swallow itself, if not to the

other ships; and the marshal contributed to and cherished this jealousy, that the better markets might be made of all the rest; himself being always a sharer with the merchants, who made any purchases of that kind: as he had, from the time that his highness first came into that port, always insinuated into him in confidence, and under great good-will and trust, "that he should use all expe-"dition in the sale of the prizes, lest either Crom-"well should demand the whole, (which he much "doubted,) or that the merchants, owners of the "goods, should, upon the hearing where they were, "send and arrest the said ships and goods, and "demand restitution to be made of them in a "course of justice; in either of which cases," he said, "he did not know, considering how things "stood with England, what the court would deter-"mine:" though, he promised, he would extend "his authority to serve the prince, as far as he "could with his own safety; and defer the pub-"lishing and execution of any orders he should "receive, till the prince might facilitate the des-"patch;" and by this kind advice very good bargains had been made for those goods which had been sold; of which the marshal had an account to his own desire.

But when, upon this unwelcome advertisement, the king made his address to the cardinal to revoke this order; and, as the best reason to oblige him to gratify him, told him, "that the money, which "should be raised upon the sale of those cannon, "was the only means he had to remove himself "out of France, which he intended shortly to do, "and to go to the hither parts of Germany, and

"that his sister, the princess of Orange, and he, "had some thoughts of finding themselves toge- "ther, in the beginning of the summer, at the "Spa:" which indeed had newly entered into the king's consideration, and had been entertained by the princess royal; the cardinal, being well pleased with the reason, told his majesty, "that this order "was not newly made, but had been very ancient, "that no merchants or any private subjects should "buy any brass ordnance in any port, lest ill use "might be made of them; and that the order was "not now revived with any purpose to bring any "prejudice to his majesty; who should be no loser "by the restraint; for that himself would buy the "ordnance, and give as much for them as they "were worth; in order to which, he would forth- "with send an agent to Nantes to see the cannon; "and, upon conference with a person employed by "the king, they two should agree upon the price, "and then the money should be all paid together "to his majesty in Paris:" intimating "that he "would dispute the matter afterwards with Crom- "well;" as if he knew, or foresaw, that he would make some demand.

It was well for the king that this condition was made for the payment of this money in Paris; for of all the money paid or received at Nantes, as well for the ships, tackle, and ordnance, as for the prize-goods, not one penny ever came to the king's hands, or to his use, but what he received at Paris from the cardinal for the brass guns which were upon the Swallow; for the valuing whereof the king sent one thither to treat with the officer of the cardinal. All the rest was disposed, as well as

received, by prince Rupert; who, when he returned to Paris, gave his majesty a confused account; and averred, "that the expenses had been so great, "that there was not only no money remaining in "his hands, but that there was a debt still due to a "merchant;" which he desired his majesty to promise to satisfy.

The king's resolution to go into Germany was very grateful to every body, more from the weariness they had of France, than from the foresight of any benefit and advantage that was like to accrue by the remove. But his majesty, who needed no spurs for that journey, was the more disposed to it by the extraordinary importunity of his friends in England; who observing the strict correspondence that was between the cardinal and Cromwell, and knowing that the alliance between them was very near concluded, and being informed that there were conditions agreed upon, which were very prejudicial to the king, did really apprehend that his majesty's person might be given up; and thereupon they sent Harry Seymour, who, being of his majesty's bedchamber, and having his leave to attend his own affairs in England, they well knew would be believed by the king, and being addressed only to the marquis of Ormond and the chancellor of the exchequer, he might have opportunity to speak with the king privately and undiscovered, and return again with security, as he, and all messengers of that kind, frequently did. He was sent by the marquis of Hertford and the earl of Southampton, with the privity of those few who were trusted by them, "to be very importunate with the king, that "he would remove out of France; and to commu-

"nicate to his majesty all which they received "from persons who were admitted into many of "the secret resolutions and purposes of Cromwell." And because they well knew in what straits the king was for money, they found some means at that time to send him a supply of about three thousand pounds; which the king received, and kept with great secresy. They sent him word likewise, "that wherever he should choose to re- "side out of France, they were confident his "servants in England, under what persecution "soever they lay, would send him some supply: "but whilst he remained in France, nobody would "be prevailed with to send to him." The king was glad to be confirmed in the resolution he had taken, by his friends' advice; and that they had in some degree enabled him to prosecute it; which was the more valuable, because it was known to none. Yet his debts were so great in Paris, and the servants who were to attend him in so ill a condition, and so without all conveniences for a journey, that, if the cardinal, over and above the money for the cannon, (which the king did not desire to receive till the last,) did not take care for the payment of all the arrears, which were due upon the assignment they had made to him, he should not be able to make his journey.

But in this he received some ease quickly; for when the cardinal was satisfied that his majesty had a full resolution to be gone, which he still doubted, till he heard from Holland that the princess royal did really provide for her journey to the Spa, he did let the king know, "that, against the

" time that his majesty appointed his remove, his " arrears should be either entirely paid, or so much " of his debts secured to his creditors, as should " well satisfy them; and the rest should be paid to " his receiver for the charge of the journey;" and likewise assured his majesty, " that, for the future, " the monthly assignation should be punctually " paid to whomsoever his majesty would appoint " to receive it." This promise was better complied with than any other that had been made, till, some years after, the king thought fit to decline the receiving thereof; which will be remembered in its place.

All things being in this state, the king declared his resolution to begin his journey, as soon as he could put himself into a capacity of moving, upon the receipt of the money he expected, and all preparations were made for enabling the family to be ready to wait upon his majesty, and for the better regulating and governing it, when the king should be out of France; there having never been any order put in it whilst he remained there, nor could be, because his majesty had always eaten with the queen, and her officers had governed the expense; so that by the failing of receiving money that was promised, and by the queen's officers receiving all that was paid, to carry on the expense of their majesties' table, which the king's servants durst not inquire into, very few of his majesty's servants had received any wages from the time of his coming from Worcester to the remove he was now to make. Nor was it possible now to satisfy them what they might in justice expect, but they were to be con-

tented with such a proportion as could be spared, and which might enable them, without reproach and scandal, to leave Paris. They were all modest in their desires, hoping that they should be better provided for in another place. But now the king met with an obstruction, that he least expected, from the wonderful narrowness of the cardinal's nature, and his over good husbandry in bargaining. The agent he had sent to Nantes to view the cannon, made so many scruples and exceptions upon the price, and upon the weight, that spent much time; and at last offered much less than they were worth, and than the other merchant had offered, when the injunction came that restrained him from proceeding. The king knew not what to propose in this. The cardinal said, "he understood not "the price of cannon himself, and therefore he had "employed a man that did; and it was reasonable "for him to govern himself by his conduct; who "assured him, that he offered as much as they "could reasonably be valued at." It was moved on the king's behalf, "that he would permit others "to buy them; which," he said, "he could not do, "because of the king his master's restraint; and "if any merchant, or other person, should agree "for them, Cromwell would demand them wher-"ever they should be found; and there were not "many that would dispute the right with him." In conclusion, the king was compelled to refer the matter to himself, and to accept what he was content to pay; and when all was agreed upon according to his own pleasure, he required new abatements in the manner of payment of the money, as allowance for paying it in gold, and the like, fitter to be in-

sisted on by the meanest merchant, than by a member of the sacred college, who would be esteemed a prince of the church.

Whilst the king was preparing for his journey, he received news that pleased him very well, and looked like some addition of strength to him. After the duke of York had made his escape from St. James's, where he, and the rest of the royal family that remained in England, were under the care and tuition of the earl of Northumberland; the parliament would not suffer, nor did the earl desire, that the rest should remain longer under his government. But the other three, two princesses and the duke of Gloucester, were committed to the countess of Leicester; to whom such an allowance was paid out of the treasury, as might well defray their expenses with that respect that was due to their birth; which was performed towards them as long as the king their father lived. But as soon as the king was murdered, it was ordered that the children should be removed into the country, that they might not be the objects of respect to draw the eyes and application of people towards them. The allowance was retrenched, that their attendants and servants might be lessened; and order was given, "that they should be treated "without any addition of titles, and that they should "sit at their meat as the children of the family did, "and all at one table." Whereupon they were removed to Penshurst, a house of the earl of Leicester's in Kent; where they lived under the tuition of the same countess, who observed the order of the parliament with obedience enough: yet they were carefully looked to, and treated with

as much respect as the lady pretended she durst pay to them.

There, by an act of providence, [Mr. Lovel,] an honest man, who had been recommended to teach the earl of Sunderland, whose mother was a daughter of the house of Leicester, became likewise tutor to the duke of Gloucester; who was, by that means, well taught in that learning that was fit for his years, and very well instructed in the principles of religion, and the duty that he owed to the king his brother: all which made the deeper impression in his very pregnant nature, by what his memory retained of those instructions which the king his father had, with much fervour, given him before his death. One of the princesses died at Penshurst, and shortly after the other princess and the duke of Gloucester were removed from the government of the countess of Leicester, and sent into the Isle of Wight to Carisbrook castle; where Mildmay was captain; and the care of them committed to him, with an assignation for their maintenance; which he was to order, and which in truth was given as a boon to him; and he was required strictly, "that no person "should be permitted to kiss their hands, and that "they should not be otherwise treated than as the "children of a gentleman;" which Mildmay observed very exactly; and the duke of Gloucester was not called by any other style than, Mr. Harry. The tutor was continued, and sent thither with him; which pleased him very well. And here they remained at least two or three years. The princess died in this place; and, according to the charity of that time towards Cromwell, very many would have

it believed to be by poison; of which there was no appearance, nor any proof ever after made.

But whether this reproach and suspicion made any impression in the mind of Cromwell, or whether he had any jealousy that the duke of Gloucester, who was now about fourteen years of age, and a prince of extraordinary hopes both from the comeliness and gracefulness of his person, and the vivacity and vigour of his wit and understanding, which made him much spoken of, might, at some time or other, be made use of by the discontented party of his own army to give him trouble, or whether he would shew the contempt he had of the royal family, by sending another of it into the world to try his fortune, he did declare one day to his council, "that he was well content "that the son of the late king, who was then in "Carisbrook castle, should have liberty to transport "himself into any parts beyond the seas, as he "should desire:" which was at that time much wondered at, and not believed; and many thought it a presage of a worse inclination; and for some time there was no more speech of it. But notice and advice being sent to the duke by those who wished his liberty, that he should prosecute the obtaining that order and release, he, who desired most to be out of restraint, sent his tutor, Mr. Lovel, to London, to be advised by friends what he should do to procure such an order, and warrant, as was necessary for his transportation. And he, by the advise of those who wished well to the affair, did so dexterously solicit it, that he did not only procure an order from the council that gave him

liberty to go over the seas with the duke, and to require Mildmay to permit him to embark, but likewise five hundred pounds from the commissioners of the treasury, which he received, to defray the charges and expenses of the voyage; being left to provide a ship himself, and being obliged to embark at the Isle of Wight, and not to suffer the duke to go on shore in any other part of England.

[This happened in the latter end of the year 1652;] and was so well prosecuted, that, at the time when the king was making his preparations ready to leave France, he received advertisement from his sister in Holland, "that the duke of Gloucester was "arrived there; and would be the next day with "her;" which was no sooner known than the queen very earnestly desired, that he might be presently sent for to Paris, that she might see him; which she had never done since he was about a year old; for within such a short time after he was born, the troubles were so far advanced, that her majesty made her voyage into Holland, and from that time had never seen him. The king could not refuse to satisfy his mother in so reasonable a desire, though he did then suspect that there might be a farther purpose in that design of seeing him, than was then owned. And therefore he had despatched presently a messenger to the Hague, that his brother might make all possible haste to Paris; his majesty having nothing more in his resolution, than that his brother should not make any stay in France, but that he should return again with him into Germany; and with this determination of the king's he was presently sent for, and came safely to Paris, to the satisfaction of all who saw him.

All expedition was used to provide for the king's remove, so generally desired of all; and, for the future, the charge of governing the expenses of the family, and of payment of the wages of the servants, and indeed of issuing out all monies, as well in journeys as when the court resided any where, was committed to Stephen Fox, a young man bred under the severe discipline of the lord Peircy, now lord chamberlain of the king's household. This Stephen Fox was very well qualified with languages, and all other parts of clerkship, honesty, and discretion, that were necessary for the discharge of such a trust; and indeed his great industry, modesty, and prudence, did very much contribute to the bringing the family, which for so many years had been under no government, into very good order; by which his majesty, in the pinching straits of his condition, enjoyed very much ease from the time he left Paris.

Prince Rupert was now returned from Nantes; and finding that he should receive none of the money the cardinal was to pay for the brass ordnance, and being every day more indisposed by the chagrin humour of the keeper, (who endeavoured to inflame him against the king, as well as against most other men, and thought his highness did not give evidence enough of his concernment and friendship for him, except he fell out with every body with whom he was angry,) resolved to leave the king; wrought upon, no doubt, besides the frowardness of the other man, by the despair that seemed to attend the king's fortune; and told his majesty, "that he was resolved to look after his "own affairs in Germany; and first to visit his

" brother in the palatinate, and require what was " due from him for his appanage; and then to go " to the emperor, to receive the money that was " due to him upon the treaty of Munster;" which was to be all paid by the emperor: from the prosecution of which purpose his majesty did not dissuade him; and, possibly, heard it with more indifferency than the prince expected; which raised his natural passion; insomuch, as the day when he took his leave, that nobody might imagine that he had any thoughts ever to return to have any relation to, or dependence upon, the king, he told his majesty, " that, if he pleased, he might dispose of " the place of master of the horse;" in which he had been settled by the late king, and his present majesty had, to preserve that office for him, and to take away the pretence the lord Peircy might have to it, by his having had that office to the prince of Wales, recompensed him with the place of lord chamberlain, though not to his full content. But the king bore this resignation likewise from the prince with the same countenance as he had done his first resolution; and so, towards the end of April, or the beginning of May, his highness left the king, and begun his journey for the palatinate.

Shortly after the prince was gone, the king begun to think of a day for his own departure, and to make a list of his servants he intended should wait upon him. He foresaw that the only end of his journey was to find some place where he might securely attend such a conjuncture, as God Almighty should give him, that might invite him to new activity, his present business being to be quiet; and therefore he was wont to say, " that he

" would provide the best he could for it, by having " only such about him as could be quiet." He could not forget the vexation the lord keeper had always given him, and how impossible it was for him to live easily with any body; and so, in the making the list of those who were to go with him, he left his name out; which the keeper could not be long without knowing; and thereupon he came to the king, and asked him, " whether he did not " intend that he should wait upon him?" His majesty told him, " No; for that he resolved to " make no use of his great seal; and therefore " that he should stay at Paris, and not put himself " to the trouble of such a journey, which he him- " self intended to make without the ease and bene- " fit of a coach:" which in truth he did, putting his coach-horses in a waggon, wherein his bed and clothes were carried: nor was he owner of a coach in some years after. The keeper expostulated with him in vain upon the dishonour that it would be to him to be left behind, and the next day brought the great seal, and delivered it to him; and desired, " that he would sign a paper, in which his " majesty acknowledged, that he had received " again his great seal from him;" which the king very willingly signed; and he immediately removed his lodging, and left the court; and never after saw his majesty; which did not at all please the queen; who was as much troubled that he was to stay where she was, as that he did not go with the king.

The queen prevailed with the king, at parting, in a particular in which he had fortified himself to deny her, which was, " that he would leave the

"duke of Gloucester with her;" which she asked with so much importunity, that, without very much disobliging her, he could not resist. She desired him "to consider in what condition he had been "bred, without learning either exercise or lan-"guage, or having ever seen a court, or good "company; and being now in a place, and at an "age, that he might be instructed in all these, to "carry him away from all these advantages to live "in Germany, would be interpreted by all the "world, not only to be want of kindness towards "his brother, but want of all manner of respect to "her." The reasonableness of this discourse, together with the king's utter disability to support him in the condition that was fit for him, would easily have prevailed, had it not been for the fear that the purpose was to pervert him in his religion; which when the queen had assured the king "was "not in her thought, and that she would not per-"mit any such attempt to be made," his majesty consented to it.

Now the day being appointed for his majesty to begin his journey, the king desired that the chancellor of the exchequer might likewise part in the queen's good grace, at least without her notable disfavour, which had been so severe towards him, that he had not for some months presumed to be in her presence: so that though he was very desirous to kiss her majesty's hand, he himself knew not how to make any advance towards it. But the day before the king was to be gone, the lord Peircy, who was directed by his majesty to speak in the affair, and who in truth had kindness for the chancellor, and knew the prejudice against him to be

very unjust, brought him word that the queen was content to see him, and that he would accompany him to her in the afternoon. Accordingly at the hour appointed by her majesty, they found her alone in her private gallery, and the lord Peircy withdrawing to the other end of the room, the chancellor told her majesty, "that now she had "vouchsafed to admit him into her presence, he "hoped, she would let him know the ground of "the displeasure she had conceived against him; "that so having vindicated himself from any fault "towards her majesty, he might leave her with a "confidence in his duty, and receive her com- "mands, with an assurance that they should be "punctually obeyed by him." The queen, with a louder voice, and more emotion than she was accustomed to, told him, "that she had been con- "tented to see him, and to give him leave to kiss "her hand, to comply with the king's desires, who "had importuned her to it; otherwise, that he "lived in that manner towards her, that he had no "reason to expect to be welcome to her: that she "need not assign any particular miscarriage of his, "since his disrespect towards her was notorious "to all men; and that all men took notice, that "he never came where she was, though he lodged "under her roof," (for the house was hers,) "and "that she thought she had not seen him in six "months before; which she looked upon as so "high an affront, that only her respect towards the "king prevailed with her to endure it."

When her majesty made a pause, the chancellor said, "that her majesty had only mentioned his "punishment, and nothing of his fault: that how

" great soever his infirmities were in defect of un-
" derstanding, or in good manners, he had yet
" never been in Bedlam; which he had deserved
" to be, if he had affected to publish to the world
" that he was in the queen's disfavour, by avoiding
" to be seen by her: that he had no kind of appre-
" hension that they who thought worst of him,
" would ever believe him to be such a fool, as to
" provoke the wife of his dead master, the great-
" ness of whose affections to her was well known
" to him, and the mother of the king, who sub-
" sisted by her favour, and all this in France,
" where himself was a banished person, and she at
" home, where she might oblige or disoblige him
" at her pleasure. So that he was well assured,
" that nobody would think him guilty of so much
" folly and madness, as not to use all the en-
" deavours he possibly could to obtain her grace
" and protection: that it was very true, he had
" been long without the presumption of being in
" her majesty's presence, after he had undergone
" many sharp instances of her displeasure, and
" after he had observed some alteration and aver-
" sion in her majesty's looks and countenance,
" upon his coming into the room where she was,
" and during the time he stayed there; which
" others likewise observed so much, that they
" withdrew from holding any conversation with
" him in those places, out of fear to offend her
" majesty: that he had often desired, by several
" persons, to know the cause of her majesty's dis-
" pleasure, and that he might be admitted to clear
" himself from any unworthy suggestions which
" had been made of him to her majesty; but could

" never obtain that honour; and therefore he had " conceived, that he was obliged, in good manners, " to remove so unacceptable an object from the " eyes of her majesty, by not coming into her " presence; which all who knew him, could not " but know to be the greatest mortification that " could be inflicted upon him; and therefore he " most humbly besought her majesty at this audi- " ence, which might be the last he should receive " of her, she would dismiss him with the know- " ledge of what he had done amiss, that he might " be able to make his innocence and integrity " appear; which he knew had been blasted by the " malice of some persons; and thereby misunder- " stood and misinterpreted by her majesty." But all this prevailed not with her majesty; who, after she had, with her former passion, objected his credit with the king, and his endeavours to lessen that credit which she ought to have, concluded, " that she should be glad to see reason to change " her opinion;" and so, carelessly, extended her hand towards him; which he kissing, her majesty departed to her chamber.

It was about the beginning of June in the year 1654, that the king left Paris; and because he made a private journey the first night, and did not join his family till the next day, which administered much occasion of discourse, and gave occasion to a bold person to publish, amongst the amours of the French court, a particular that reflected upon the person of the king, with less license than he used towards his own sovereign, it will not be amiss in this place to mention a preservation God then wrought for the king, little inferior to the greatest

that is contained in the bundle of his mercies vouchsafed to him; and which shews the wonderful liberty that was then taken to promote their own designs and projects, at the price of their master's honour, and the interest of their country, or the sense they had of that honour and interest.

There was at that time in the court of France, or rather in the jealousy of that court, a lady of great beauty, of a presence very graceful and alluring, and a wit and behaviour that captivated those who were admitted into her presence; her extraction was very noble, and her alliance the best under the crown, her fortune rather competent, than abounding, for her degree; being the widow of a duke of an illustrious name, who had been killed fighting for the king in the late troubles, and left his wife childless, and in her full beauty. The king had often seen this lady with that esteem and inclination, which few were without, both her beauty and her wit deserving the homage that was paid to her. The earl of Bristol, who was then a lieutenant general in the French army, and always amorously inclined, and the more inclined by the difficulty of the attempt, was grown powerfully in love with this lady; and, to have the more power with her, communicated those secrets of state which concerned her safety, and more the prince of Condé, whose cousin german she was; the communication whereof was of benefit or convenience to both: yet though he made many romantic attempts to ingratiate himself with her, and such as would neither have become, or been safe to any other man than himself, who was accustomed to extraordinary flights in the air, he could not arrive at the high

success he proposed. At the same time, the lord Crofts was transported with the same ambition; and though his parts were very different from the other's, yet he wanted not art and address to encourage him in those attempts, and could bear repulses with more tranquillity of mind, and acquiescence, than the other could. When these two lords had lamented to each other their mutual infelicity, they agreed generously to merit their mistress's favour by doing her a service that should deserve it; and boldly proposed to her the marriage of the king; who, they both knew, had no dislike of her person: and they pursued it with his majesty with all their artifices. They added the reputation of her wisdom and virtue to that of her beauty, and "that she might be instrumental to "the procuring more friends towards his restora-"tion, than any other expedient then in view;" and at last prevailed so far with the king, who no doubt had a perfect esteem of her, that he made the overture to her of marriage; which she received with her natural modesty and address, declaring herself "to be much unworthy of that grace;" and beseeching and advising him "to preserve that "affection and inclination for a subject more equal "to him, and more capable to contribute to his "service;" using all those arguments for refusal, which might prevail with and inflame him to new importunities.

Though these lords made themselves, upon this advance, sure to go through with their design, yet they foresaw many obstructions in the way. The queen, they knew, would never consent to it, and the French court would obstruct it, as they had

done that of mademoiselle; nor could they persuade the lady herself to depart from her dignity, and to use any of those arts which might expedite the design. The earl of Bristol therefore, that the news might not come to his friend the chancellor of the exchequer by other hands, frankly imparted it to him, only as a passion of the king's that had exceedingly transported him; and then magnified the lady, "as a person that would exceedingly cultivate "the king's nature, and render him much more "dexterous to advance his fortune:" and therefore he professed, "that he could not dissuade his ma-"jesty from gratifying so noble an affection;" and used many arguments to persuade the chancellor too to think very well of the choice. But when he found that he was so far from concurring with him, that he reproached his great presumption for interposing in an affair of so delicate a nature, as by his conduct might prove the ruin of the king, he seemed resolved to prosecute it no farther, but to leave it entirely to the king's own inclination; who, upon serious reflections upon his own condition, and conference with those he trusted most, quickly concluded that such a marriage was not like to yield much advantage to his cause; and so resolved to decline any farther advance towards it. Yet the same persons persuaded him, that it was a necessary generosity to take his last farewell of her; and so, after he had taken leave of his mother, he went so much out of his way as to visit her at her house; where those lords made their last effort; and his majesty, with great esteem of the lady's virtue and wisdom, the next day joined his family, and prosecuted his journey towards Flanders; his small step

out of the way having raised a confident rumour in Paris that he was married to that lady.

Though the king had received a pass from the archduke for his passing through Flanders, so warily worded, that he could not but take notice, that it was expected and provided for, that he should by no means make any unnecessary stay in his journey; yet he found the gates of Cambray shut when he came thither, and was compelled to stay long in the afternoon, before they were opened to receive him; which they excused, "by reason that "they understood the enemy was at hand, and in-"tended to sit down before that city;" of which there appeared in the face of all the people, and the governor himself, a terrible apprehension. But, upon recollection, his majesty was well received by the governor, and treated and lodged that night by him in his house; who was the better composed by his majesty's assuring him, "that the French "army was at a great distance from him, and that "his majesty had passed through it the day before," (when marshal Turenne had drawn up the army to receive his majesty; the duke of York having there likewise taken his leave of the king,) "and, by the "march that they then appeared to make, there "was great reason to conclude that they had no "design upon Cambray;" which good information made the king's presence the more acceptable. But besides the civility of that supper, and lodging that night, his majesty had not the least address from the archduke, who was within four or five leagues with his army, but passed, without the least notice taken of him, through those provinces; so great a terror possessed the hearts of the Spaniard, lest

their shewing any respect to the king in his passage through their country, should incense Cromwell against them, whose friendship they yet seemed to have hope of.

His majesty intended to have made no stay, having received letters from the Hague, that his sister was already in her journey for the Spa. But, when he came to Mons, he found two gentlemen there, who came out of England with letters and instructions from those of his friends there who retained their old affections; and recovered new courage from the general discontent which possessed the kingdom, and which every day increased by the continual oppressions and tyranny they sustained. The taxes and impositions every day were augmented, and Cromwell, and his council, did greater acts of sovereignty than ever king and parliament had attempted. All gaols were full of such persons as contradicted their commands, and were suspected to wish well to the king; and there appeared such a rend among the officers of the army, that the protector was compelled to displace many of them, and to put more confiding men in their places. And as this remedy was very necessary to be applied for his security, so it proved of great reputation to him, even beyond his own hope, or at least his confidence. For the license of the common soldiers, manifested in their general and public discourses, censures, and reproaches of him, and his tyrannical proceedings, (which liberty he well knew was taken by many, that they might discover the affections and inclinations of other men, and for his service,) did not much affect him, or was not terrible to him otherwise than as they

were soldiers of this or that regiment, and under this or that captain, whose officers he knew well hated him, and who had their soldiers so much at their devotion, that they could lead them upon any enterprise: and he knew well that this seditious spirit possessed many of the principal officers both of horse and foot, who hated him now, in the same proportion that they had heretofore loved him, above all the world. This loud distemper grew the more formidable to him, in that he did believe the fire was kindled and blown by Lambert, and that they were all conducted and inspired by his melancholic and undiscerned spirit, though yet all things were outwardly very fair between them. Upon this disquisition he saw hazard enough in attempting any reformation, (which the army thought he durst not undertake to do alone, and they feared not his proceeding by a council of war, where they knew they had many friends,) but apparent danger, and very probable ruin, if he deferred it. And so trusting only to, and depending upon his own stars, he cashiered ten or a dozen officers, though not of the highest command, and those whom he most apprehended, yet of those petulant and active humours, which made them for the present most useful to the others, and most pernicious to him. By this experiment he found the example wrought great effects upon many who were not touched by it, and that the men who had done so much mischief, being now reduced to a private condition, and like other particular men, did not only lose all their credit with the soldiers, but behaved themselves with much more wariness and reservation towards all other men. This gave him more ease

than he had before enjoyed, and raised his resolution how to proceed hereafter upon the like provocations, and gave him great credit and authority with those who had believed that many officers had a greater influence upon the army than himself.

It was very evident that he had some war in his purpose; for from the time that he had made a peace with the Dutch, he took greater care to increase his stores and magazines of arms and ammunition, and to build more ships than he had ever done before; and he had given order to make ready two great fleets in the winter, under officers who should have no dependence upon each other; and landmen were likewise appointed to be levied. Some principal officers amongst these made great professions of duty to the king; and made tender of their service to his majesty by these gentlemen. It was thought necessary to make a day's stay at Mons, to despatch those gentlemen; who were very well known, and worthy to be trusted. Such commissions were prepared for them, and such instructions, as were desired by those who employed them. And his majesty gave nothing so much in charge to the messengers, and to all his friends in England with whom he had correspondence, as, "that they should live quietly, without making "any desperate or unreasonable attempt, or giving "advantage to those who watched them, to put "them into prison, and to ruin their estates and "families." He told them, "the vanity of imagin-"ing that any insurrection could give any trouble "to so well a formed and disciplined army, and "the destruction that must attend such a rash and "uncounsellable attempt: that, as he would be

" always ready to venture his own person with " them in any reasonable and well formed under- " taking; so he would with patience attend God's " own time for such an opportunity; and, in the " mean time, he would sit still in such a convenient " place as he should find willing to receive him; of " which he could yet make no judgment:" however, it was very necessary that such commissions should be in the hands of discreet and able men, in expectation of two contingencies, which might reasonably be expected. The one, such a schism in the army, as might divide it upon contrary interests into open contests, and declarations against each other, which could not but produce an equal schism in the parliament: the other, the death of Cromwell, which was conspired by the levellers, under several combinations. And if that fell out, it could hardly be imagined, that the army would remain united to the particular design of any single person, but that the parliament, which had been with so much violence turned out of doors by Cromwell, and which took itself to be perpetual, would quickly assemble again together, and take upon themselves the supreme government.

Lambert, who was unquestionably the second person in the command of the army, and was thought to be the first in their affections, had had no less hand than Cromwell himself in the odious dissolution of that parliament, and was principal in raising him to be protector under the instrument of government; and so could never reasonably hope to be trusted, and employed by them in the absolute command of an army that had already so notoriously rebelled against their masters. Then

Monk, who had the absolute command in Scotland, and was his rival already, under a mutual jealousy, would never submit to the government of Lambert, if he had no other title to it than his own presumption; and Harry Cromwell had made himself so popular in Ireland, that he would not, probably, be commanded by a man whom he knew to be his father's greatest enemy. These considerations had made that impression upon those in England who were the most wary and averse from any rash attempt, that they all wished that commissions, and all other necessary powers, might be granted by the king, and deposited in such good hands as had the courage to trust themselves with the keeping them, till such a conjuncture should fall out as is mentioned, and of which few men thought there was reason to despair.

The king having in this manner despatched those messengers, and settled the best way he could to correspond with his friends, continued his journey from Mons to Namur; where he had a pleasant passage by water to Liege; from whence, in five or six hours, he reached the Spa, the next day after the princess royal, his beloved sister, was come thither, and where they resolved to spend two or three months together; which they did, to their singular content and satisfaction. And for some time the joy of being out of France, where his majesty had enjoyed no other pleasure than being alive, and the delight of the company he was now in, suspended all thoughts of what place he was next to retire to. For as it could not be fit for his sister to stay longer from her own affairs in Holland, than the pretence of her health required,

so the Spa was a place that nobody could stay longer in than the season for the waters continued; which ended with the summer.

The king no sooner arrived at the Spa, than the earl of Rochester returned thither to him from his negociation at Ratisbon; where he had wisely remained during the diet, without owning the character he might have assumed; yet performed all the offices with the emperor, and the other princes, with less noise and expense, and with the same success as he could have expected from any qualification. The truth is, all the German princes were at that time very poor; and that meeting for the choosing a king of the Romans was of vast expense to every one of them, and full of faction and contradiction; so that they had little leisure, and less inclination, to think of any business but what concerned themselves: yet in the close of the diet, by the conduct and dexterity of the elector of Mentz, who was esteemed the wisest and most practical prince of the empire, and who, out of mere generosity, was exceedingly affected with the ill fortune of the king, that assembly was prevailed with to grant a subsidy of four romer months; which is the measure of all taxes and impositions in Germany; that is, by the romer months, which every prince is to pay, and cause it to be collected from their subjects in their own method. This money was to be paid towards the better support of the king of Great Britain. And the elector of Mentz, by his own example, persuaded as many of the princes as he had credit with, forthwith to pay their proportions to the earl of Rochester, who was solicitous enough to receive it. The whole

contribution, if it had been generously made good, had not amounted to any considerable sum upon so important an occasion. But the emperor himself paid nothing, nor many other of the princes, amongst whom were the elector [palatine], and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who had both received great obligations from king James, and the last king his son: so that the whole that was ever paid to the king did not amount to ten thousand pounds sterling; a great part whereof was spent in the negociation of the earl, and in the many journeys he made to the princes, being extremely possessed with the spirit of being the king's general, which he thought he should not be, except he made levies of men; for which he was very solicitous to make contracts with old German officers, when there was neither port in view, where he might embark them, nor a possibility of procuring ships to transport them, though Cromwell had not been possessed of any naval power to have resisted them; so blind men are, whose passions are so strong, and their judgments so weak, that they can look but upon one thing at once.

That part of the money that was paid to his majesty's use was managed with very good husbandry, and was a seasonable support to his well ordered family, which with his own expenses for his table, and his stable, and the board-wages, with which all his servants from the highest to the lowest were well satisfied, according to the establishment after he left France, amounted not to above six hundred pistoles a month; which expense was not exceeded in many years, even until his coming into Holland in order to his return into

England. And as this method in the managery gave the king great ease; so it contented, and kept the family in better order and humour than could reasonably have been expected; all which was then imputed to the care and industry of the chancellor, and was the more satisfactory, by the no care, and order, that had been observed during all the residence the king had made in France.

The king stayed not so long at the Spa as he meant to have done, the smallpox breaking out there; and one of the young ladies who attended upon the princess royal, being seized upon by it, died: so that his majesty, and his sister, upon very sudden thoughts, removed from the Spa to Aken, or Aquisgrane, an imperial and free town, governed by their own magistrates; where the king of the Romans ought to receive his first iron crown, which is kept there. This place is famous for its hot baths, whither many come after they have drank the cold waters of the Spa, and was a part of the prescription which the physicians had made to the princess, after she should have finished her course in the other place. Upon that pretence, and for the use of those baths, the courts removed now thither; but in truth with a design that the king might make his residence there, the town being large, and the country about it pleasant, and within five hours (for the journeys in those countries are measured by hours) of Maestricht, the most pleasant seat within the dominions of the United Provinces. The magistrates received the king so civilly, that his majesty, who knew no other place where he was sure to be admitted, resolved to stay there; and, in order thereunto, contracted for a convenient

house, which belonged to one who was called a baron; whither he resolved to remove, as soon as his sister, who had taken the two great inns of the town for her's and the king's accommodation, should return into Holland.

Here the good old secretary Nicholas, who had remained in Holland from the time that, upon the treaty of Breda, the king had transported himself into Scotland, presented himself to his majesty; who received him very graciously, as a person of great merit and integrity from the beginning of the troubles, and always entirely trusted by the king his father. And now to him the king gave his signet; which for three years had been kept by the chancellor of the exchequer, out of friendship that it might be restored to him. And he had therefore refused in France to be admitted into the secretary's office, which he executed, because he knew that they who advised it, did it rather that Nicholas might not have it, than out of any kindness to himself. He held himself obliged by the friendship, that had ever been between them, to preserve it for him; and, as soon as he came to Aken, desired the king to declare him to be his secretary; which was done; by which he had a fast friend added to the council, and of general reputation.

Whilst the king remained at Aken, he received many expresses out of England, which informed him of the renewed courage of his friends there: that the faction and animosity which every day appeared between the officers of the army, and in Cromwell's council, upon particular interest, raised a general opinion and hope, that there would be an

absolute rupture between them; when either party would be glad to make a conjunction with the king's. In order thereunto, there was an intelligence entered into throughout the kingdom, that they might make use of such an occasion; and they sent now to the king, to be directed by him, how they should behave themselves upon such and such contingencies; and sent for more commissions of the same kind as had been formerly sent to them. The king renewed his commands to them, "not to "flatter themselves with vain imaginations; nor to "give too easy credit to appearances of factions "and divisions; which would always be counter-"feited, that they might the more easily discover "the agitations and transactions of those upon "whom they looked as inveterate and irrecon-"cilable enemies to the government."

News came from Scotland, that Middleton had some successes in the Highlands; and the Scottish lords who were prisoners in England assured the king, "that there was now so entire a union in "that nation for his service, that they wished his "majesty himself would venture thither:" and the lord Balcarris, who was with the king, and intrusted by that people, used much instance with him to that purpose; which, how unreasonable soever the advice seemed to be, men knew not how to contradict by proposing any thing that seemed more reasonable; and so underwent the reproach of being lazy and unactive, and unwilling to submit to any fatigue, or to expose themselves to any danger; without which, his majesty could not expect to be restored to any part of his sovereignty.

The chancellor of the exchequer one day repre-

senting to the king the misery of his condition, and the general discourses of men, and, "that it was "his majesty's misfortune to be thought by many "not to be active enough towards his own redemp- "tion, and to love his ease too much, in respect "both of his age and his fortune," desired him "to consider upon this news, and importunity from "Scotland, whether in those Highlands there might "not be such a safe retreat and residence, that he "might reasonably say, that with the affections of "that people, which had been always firm both to "his father and himself, he might preserve himself "in safety, though he could not hope to make any "advance, or recover the lower part of that king- "dom possessed by the enemy; and if so, whether "he might not expect the good hand of Provi- "dence, by some revolution, more honourably "there, than in such corners of other princes' "dominions, as he might be forced to put himself "into." His majesty discoursed very calmly of that country, part whereof he had seen; of the miserable poverty of the people, and their course of life; and how "impossible it was for him to "live there with security or with health; that, if "sickness did not destroy him, which he had "reason to expect from the ill accommodation "he must be there contented with, he should in a "short time be betrayed and given up." And in this debate, he told him that melancholic conclu- sion, which David Lesley made at Warrington- bridge, which is mentioned before, when he told the king, "that those men would never fight;" which his majesty had never, he said, told to any body before. However, he said, "if his friends

" would advise him to that expedition, he would " transport himself into the Highlands; though he " knew what would come of it, and that they would " be sorry for it:" which stopped the chancellor from ever saying more to that purpose. And it was not long after that news came, of Middleton's having been like to be given up to the enemy by the treachery of that people, and of the defeat his troops had received, and that he should be at last forced to quit that miserable country; which, however, he resolved to endure, as long as should be possible.

The season of the year now begun to approach that would oblige the princess royal to return to the Hague, lest the jealous States, from her long absence, might be induced to contrive some act prejudicial to her and her son; which she was the more liable to, from the unkind differences between her and the princess dowager, mother of the deceased prince of Orange, a lady of great cunning and dexterity to promote her own interest. The air of Aken, and the ill smell of the baths, made that place less agreeable to the king than at first he believed it to be; and he wished to find a better town to reside in, which he might be put to endure long. The city of Cologne was distant from Aken two short days' journey, and had the fame of an excellent situation. But the people were reported to be of a proud and mutinous nature, always in rebellion against their bishop and prince, and of so much bigotry in religion that they had expelled all protestants out of their city, and would suffer no exercise of religion, but of the Roman catholic. So that there seemed little hope that they would permit

the king to reside there; the rather, because it was the staple for the wines of that country, and maintained a good intelligence and trade with England. If the king should send thither to provide a house, and declare a purpose to stay there, and they should refuse to receive him, it might be of very ill consequence, and fright any other places, and Aken itself, from permitting him to return thither; and therefore that adventure was to be avoided. At last it was concluded, that the princess royal should make Cologne her way into Holland, which was reasonable enough, by the convenience of the river for the commodious transportation of her goods and family: and the king, accompanying her so far, might make a judgment, upon his observation, whether it would be best for him to stay there, or to return to Aken; where he would leave his family, as the place where he had taken a house, and to which he meant in few days to return. With this resolution they left Aken, about the middle of September; and lodging one night at Juliers, a little dirty town upon a flat, not worthy to have made a quarrel between so many of the princes of Europe, nor of the fame it got by the siege, they came the next day to Cologne; where they were received with all the respect, pomp, and magnificence, that could be expected, or the city could perform. The house, which the harbingers of the princess had taken for her reception, served likewise to accommodate the king; and the magistrates performed their respects to both with all possible demonstration of civility.

Cologne is a city most pleasantly situated upon the banks of the Rhine; of a large extent, and fair

and substantial buildings; and encompassed with a broad and excellent rampart, upon which are fair walks of great elms, where two coaches may go on breast, and, for the beauty of it, is not inferior to the walls of Antwerp, but rather superior, because this goes round the town. The government is under the senate and consuls; of whom there was one then consul, who "was descended from father "to son of a patrician Roman family, that had "continued from the time the colony was first "planted there." It had never been otherwise subject to the bishops, than in some points which refer to their ecclesiastical jurisdiction; which they sometimes endeavouring to enlarge, the magistrates always oppose: and that gives the subject of the discourse of jealousies, and contests, between their prince and them; which are neither so frequent, nor of that moment, as they are reported to be. The elector never resides there, but keeps his court at his castle of Bonne, near four miles from thence. And that elector, who was of the house of Bavaria, and a melancholic and peevish man, had not then been in the city in very many years. The number of churches and religious houses is incredible; insomuch as it was then averred, "that "the religious persons and churchmen made up a "full moiety of the inhabitants of the town;" and their interest and authority so far prevailed, that, some few years before the king came thither, they expelled all those of the protestant religion, contrary to the advice of the wisest of the magistrates; who confessed "that the trade of the town was "much decayed thereby, and the poverty thereof "much increased." And it is very possible, that

the vast number and unskilful zeal of the ecclesiastical and religious persons may at some time expose that noble city to the surprise of some powerful prince, who would quickly deprive them of their long enjoyed privileges. And there was, in that very time of the king's stay there, a design by the French to have surprised it; Schomberg lying many days in wait there, to have performed that service; which was very hardly prevented. The people are so much more civil than they were reported to be, that they seem to be the most conversible, and to understand the laws of society and conversation better than any other people of Germany. To the king they were so devoted, that when they understood he was not so fixed to the resolution of residing at Aken, but that he might be diverted from it, they very handsomely made tender to him of any accommodation that city could yield him, and of all the affection and duty they could pay him; which his majesty most willingly accepted; and giving order for the payment of the rent of the house he had taken at Aken, which he had not at all used, and other disbursements, which the master of the house had made to make it the more convenient for his majesty, and likewise sending very gracious letters to the magistrates of that town, for the civility they had expressed towards him, he sent for that part of his family which remained there, to attend him at Cologne; where he declared he would spend that winter.

As soon as the king came to Cologne, he sent to the neighbour princes, by proper messages and insinuations, for that money, which by the grant of

the diet, that is, by their own concession, they were obliged to pay to his majesty; which though it amounted to no great sum, yet was of great conveniency to his support. The duke of Newburgh, whose court was at Dusseldorp, a small day's journey from Cologne, and by which the princess royal was to pass if she made use of the river, sent his proportion very generously, with many expressions of great respect and duty, and with insinuation "that he would be glad to receive the honour "of entertaining the king and his sister in his "palace, as she returned." However he forebore to make any solemn invitation, without which they could not make the visit, till some ceremonies were first adjusted; upon which that nation is more punctual, and obstinate, than any other people in Europe. He who gave the intimation, and came only with a compliment to congratulate his majesty's and her royal highness's arrival in those parts, was well instructed in the particulars; of which there were only two of moment, and the rest were formalities from which they might recede, if those two were consented to. The one was, "that "the king, at their first meeting, should at least once "treat the duke with *altesse*;" the other, "that "the duke might salute the princess royal;" and without consenting to these two, there could be no meeting between them. Both the king and his sister were naturally enough inclined to new sights and festivities; and the king thought it of moment to him to receive the respect and civility of any of the German princes: and among them, there were few more considerable in their dominions, and none in their persons, than the duke of Newburgh; who

reckoned himself upon the same level with the electors. And the king was informed, " that the " emperor himself always treated him with *altesse;*" and therefore his majesty made no scruple of giving him the same. The matter of saluting the princess royal was of a new and delicate nature; that dignity had been so punctually preserved, from the time of her coming into Holland, that the old prince of Orange, father of her husband, would never pretend to it: yet that ceremony depending only upon the custom of countries, (and every marshal of France having the privilege in that kingdom to salute the daughters of the king,) and the duke of Newburgh being a sovereign prince, inferior to none in Germany, and his ambassador always covering before the emperor, the king thought fit, and her royal highness consented, that the duke should salute her. And so all matters being adjusted without any noise, the king, about the middle of October, accompanied his sister by water to Dusseldorp; where they arrived between three and four of the clock in the afternoon; and found the duke and his duchess waiting for them on the side of the water; where after having performed their mutual civilities and compliments, the king, and the princess royal, and the duke and the duchess of Newburgh, went into the duke's coach, and the company into the coaches which were provided for them, and alighted at the castle, that was very near; where his majesty was conducted into his quarter, and the princess into her's, the duke and the duchess immediately retiring into their own quarters; where they new dressed themselves, and visited not the king again till above

half an hour before supper, and after the king and princess had performed their devotion.

The castle is a very princely house, having been the seat of the duke of Cleve; which duchy, together with that of Juliers, having lately fallen to heirs females, (whereof the mothers of the elector of Brandenburgh, and duke of Newburgh, were two,) when all the pretenders seizing upon that which lay most convenient to them, this of Dusseldorp, by agreement, afterwards remained still to Newburgh; whose father, being of the reformed religion in the late contention, found the house of Brandenburgh too strong for him, by having the prince of Orange and the States his fast friends; and thereupon, that he might have a strong support from the emperor and king of Spain, became Roman catholic, and thereby had the assistance he expected. At the same time he put his son, who was then very young, to be bred under the Jesuits; by which education, the present duke was with more than ordinary bigotry zealous in the Roman religion.

He was a man of very fine parts of knowledge, and in his manners and behaviour much the best bred of any German. He had the flowing civility and language of the French, enough restrained and controlled by the German gravity and formality; so that, altogether, he seemed a very accomplished prince, and became himself very well, having a good person and graceful motion, which that nation seldom attain to. He was at that time above thirty, and had been married to the sister of the former, and the then king of Poland; who leaving only a daughter, he was now newly married to

the daughter of the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, who upon her marriage became Roman catholic. She had no eminent features of beauty, nor the French language and vivacity, to contribute to the entertainment; so that she was rather a spectator of the festivity, than a part of it, and confirmed the king in his aversion from ever marrying a German lady. The entertainment was very splendid and magnificent in all preparations, as well for the tables which were prepared for the lords and the ladies, as that where his majesty and his sister and the duke and the duchess only sat: the meals, according to the custom of Germany, very long, with several sorts of music, both of instruments and voices; which, if not excellent, was new, and differed much from what his majesty was accustomed to hear. There was wine in abundance, but no man so much as wished to drink, if he called not for it; and the duke himself an enemy to all excesses.

After two days spent in this manner, in which time the king made a great friendship with the duke, which always continued, they parted; and there being near the river, distant another short day's journey, a handsome open town of good receipt, called Santen, belonging to that part of the duchy of Cleve which was assigned to the elector of Brandenburgh, the king resolved to accompany his sister thither; where having spent that night, the next morning her royal highness, after an unwilling farewell, prosecuted her journey to Holland, and his majesty returned by horse to Cologne; where the same house was prepared for him in

which he and his sister had inhabited, whilst she stayed there. And by this time the end of October was come; which, in those parts, is more than the entrance into winter. The magistrates of the city renewed their civilities, and professions of respect to the king; which they always made good; nor could his majesty have chosen a more convenient retreat in any place; and he, being well refreshed with the divertisements he had enjoyed, betook himself with great cheerfulness to compose his mind to his fortune; and, with a marvellous contentedness, prescribed so many hours in the day to his retirement in his closet; which he employed in reading and studying both the Italian and French languages; and, at other times, walked much upon the walls of the town, (for, as is said before, he had no coach, nor would suffer his sister to leave him one,) and sometimes rid into the fields; and, in the whole, spent his time very well.

The nuncio of the pope resided in that city, and performed all respects to his majesty: he was a proper and grave man, an Italian bishop, who never made the least scruple at his majesty's enjoying the liberty of his chapel, and the exercise of his religion, though it was very public; so that in truth his majesty was not without any respect that could be shewed to him in those parts, save that the elector never came to see him, though he lived within little more than an hour; which he excused by some indisposition of health, and unwillingness to enter into that city; though it proceeded as much from the sullenness and moroseness of his nature, unapt for any conversation, and averse from

all civilities; which made him for a long time to defer the payment of his small quota, which had been granted to the king by the diet, and was at last extorted from him by an importunity unfit to have been pressed upon any other prince, or gentleman. This elector's defect of urbanity was the more excusable, or the less to be complained of, since the elector [palatine], so nearly allied to the crown, and so much obliged by it, did not think fit to take any notice of the king's being so near him, or to send a messenger to salute him.

Within a short time after his majesty's return to Cologne, he received news that exceedingly afflicted him, and the more, that he knew not what remedy to apply to the mischief which he saw was likely to befall him upon it. From Paris, his majesty heard, that the queen had put away the tutor he had left to attend his brother the duke of Gloucester; who remained at Paris, upon her majesty's desire, that he might learn his exercises. The queen had conferred with him upon "the desperateness of his "condition, in respect of the king his brother's "fortune, and the little hope that appeared that "his majesty could ever be restored, at least if he "did not himself become Roman catholic; whereby "the pope, and other princes of that religion, "might be united in his quarrel; which they "would never undertake upon any other obligation: that it was therefore fit that the duke, who "had nothing to support him, nor could expect "any thing from the king, should be instructed in "the Roman catholic religion; that so, becoming "a good catholic, he might be capable of those "advantages which her majesty should be able to

" procure for him: that the queen of France would " hereupon confer abbeys and benefices upon him " to such a value, as would maintain him in that " splendour as was suitable to his birth; that, in a " little time, the pope would make him a cardinal; " by which he might be able to do the king his " brother much service, and contribute to his re- " covery; whereas, without this, he must be ex- " posed to great necessity and misery, for that she " was not able any longer to give him mainte- " nance." She found the duke more obstinate than she expected from his age; he was so well instructed in his religion, that he disputed against the change; urged the precepts he had received from the king his father, and his dying in the faith he had prescribed to him; put her majesty in mind of the promise she had made to the king his brother at parting; and acknowledged, " that he " had obliged himself to his majesty, that he would " never change his religion; and therefore besought " her majesty, that she would not farther press " him, at least till he should inform the king of it." The queen well enough knew the king's mind, and thought it more excusable to proceed in that affair without imparting it to him; and therefore took upon her the authority of a mother, and removed his tutor from him; and committed the duke to the care of abbot Montague her almoner; who, having the pleasant abbey of Pontoise, entertained his highness there, sequestered from all resort of such persons as might confirm him in his averseness from being converted.

As soon as the king received this advertisement, which both the duke and his tutor made haste to

transmit to him, he was exceedingly perplexed. On the one hand, his majesty knew the reproaches which would be cast upon him by his enemies, who took all the pains they could to persuade the world, that he himself had changed his religion; and though his exercise of it was so public, wherever he was, that strangers resorted to it, and so could bear witness of it, yet their impudence was such in their positive averment, that they persuaded many in England, and especially of those of the reformed religion abroad, that his majesty was in truth a papist: and his leaving his brother behind him in France, where it was evident the queen would endeavour to pervert him, would be an argument, that he did not desire to prevent it: on the other side, he knew well the little credit he had in France, and how far they would be from assisting him, in a contest of such a nature with his mother. However, that the world might see plainly that he did all that was in his power, he sent the marquis of Ormond with all possible expedition into France; who, he very well knew, would steadily execute his commands. He writ a letter of complaint to the queen, of her having proceeded in that manner in a matter of so near importance to him, and conjured her "to discontinue the prosecution of it; "and to suffer his brother the duke of Gloucester "to repair with the marquis of Ormond to his "presence." He commanded the duke "not to "consent to any propositions which should be "made to him for the change of his religion; and "that he should follow the advice of the marquis "of Ormond, and accompany him to Cologne." And he directed the marquis of Ormond "to let

" Mr. Montague, and whosoever of the English " should join with him, know, that they should ex- " pect such a resentment from his majesty, if they " did not comply with his commands, as should be " suitable to his honour, and to the affront they " put upon him."

The marquis behaved himself with so much wisdom and resolution, that though the queen was enough offended with him, and with the expostulation the king made with her, and imputed all the king's sharpness and resolution to the counsel he received from the marquis and the chancellor of the exchequer, yet she thought not fit to extend her power in detaining the duke, both against the king's and his own will; and the duke, upon the receipt of the king's letter, declared, " that he " would obey his majesty;" and the abbot found, that he must enter into an absolute defiance with the king, if he persisted in advising the queen not to comply with his majesty's directions: so that, after two or three days' deliberation, the queen expressing very much displeasure at the king's proceeding, and that she should wholly be divested of the power and authority of a mother, told the marquis, " that the duke might dispose of himself as " he pleased; and that she would not concern her- " self farther, nor see him any more." And thereupon the duke put himself into the hands of the marquis; who immediately removed him from Pontoise to the house of [the lord Hatton,] an English lord, who lived then in Paris; where he remained for some days, until the marquis could borrow money (which was no easy matter) to defray the journey to the king. And then they

quickly left Paris; and shortly after came to the king; who was infinitely delighted with the marquis's negociation and success; and kept his brother always with him, till the time that he returned into England, the queen remaining as much unsatisfied.

Innocent the Tenth was now dead; who had outlived the understanding and judgment he had been formerly master of, and lost all the reputation he had formerly gotten; and, as Jehoram, *departed without being desired.* He had fomented the rebellion in England by cherishing that in Ireland; whither he had sent a light-headed nuncio, who did much mischief to his majesty's service, as hath been touched before. The world was in great expectation who should succeed him, when, one day, the duke of Newburgh sent a gentleman to the king to bring him the news that cardinal Chigi was chosen pope; "of which," the duke said, "his "majesty had great cause to be glad;" which the king understood not. But, the next day, the duke himself came to the king, and told him, "that he "came to congratulate with his majesty for the "election of the new pope, who called himself "Alexander the Seventh; and who," he said, "he "was confident, would do him great service;" and thereupon related a discourse that had passed between him and the new pope, when he was nuncio at Cologne, some years before: when they two conferring together ("as," he said, "there was "great confidence and friendship between them") of the rebellion in England, and of the execrable murder of the late king, the nuncio broke out into great passion, even with tears, and said, "it was a "monstrous thing that the two crowns should

" weary and spend each other's strength and " spirits in so unjust and groundless a war, when " they had so noble an occasion to unite their " power to revenge that impious murder, in which " the honour and the lives of all kings were con- " cerned; and," he said, " the pope was concerned " never to let either of them to be quiet, till he " had reconciled them, and obliged all Christian " kings and states, without consideration of any " difference in religion, to join together for the " restoration of the king; which would be the " greatest honour the pope could obtain in this " world. All which," he said, " the nuncio spoke " with so much warmth and concernment, that he " could not doubt, but that, now God had raised " him to that chair, he hoped, for that end, he " would remember his former opinion, and execute " it himself; being," he said, " a man of the most " public heart, and the most superior to all private " designs, that the world had:" the duke taking great delight to remember many of his discourses, and describing him to be such a man, as he was generally believed to be for the first two years of his reign, till he manifested his affections with more ingenuity. The duke desired his majesty to consider, " whether there might not be somewhat " he might reasonably wish from the pope; and if " it were not fit to be proposed as from his majesty " he would be willing to promote it in his own " name, having, he thought, some interest in his " holiness. And," he said, " he was resolved to " send a person purposely to Rome with his con- " gratulation, and to tender his obedience to the " pope; and that he would instruct that person in

" whatsoever his majesty should wish: and though " he could not hope, that any greater matter would " be done towards his majesty's restoration, till " the peace should be effected between the two " crowns, (which he knew the pope would labour " in till he had brought it to pass,) yet he could " not doubt but that, out of the generosity of his " holiness, his majesty would receive some supply " towards his better support; which, for the pre- " sent, was all that could be expected: that the " person whom he intended to send was a Jesuit, " who was at that present in Newburgh; but he " had, or would send for him: that though he was " a religious man, yet he was a person of that expe- " rience, temper, and wisdom, that he had in- " trusted him in affairs not only of the greatest " secresy, but in negociations of the greatest im- " portance; in which he had always behaved him- " self with singular prudence and judgment: and " he assured his majesty he was equal to any " trust; and if, upon what he had said and offered, " his majesty thought he might be of use to him in " his journey, he would send him to Cologne as " soon as he came, that he might attend upon his " majesty, and receive any commands he would " vouchsafe to impose upon him."

Though the king had in truth very little hope that the new pope would be more magnanimous than the old, and did believe that the maxim, with which Innocent had answered those who would have disposed him to supply the king with some money, " that he could not, with a good conscience, apply " the patrimony of the church to the assistance and " support of heretics," would be as current divinity

with Alexander, and all his successors, yet he could not but be abundantly satisfied with the kindness of the duke of Newburgh, and could not conclude how far his interposition might prevail upon a temper and constitution so refined, and without those dregs which others had used to carry about them to that promotion: therefore, after those acknowledgments which were due for the overtures, his majesty told him, "that he would entirely commit it to his "wisdom, to do those offices with the new pope "which he thought fit, since he could expect no-"thing but upon that account; and that he would "do any thing on his part which was fit for him "to do, and which should be thought of moment "to facilitate the other pretences." Whereupon the duke told him, "that the bloody laws in England "against the Roman catholic religion made a very "great noise in the world; and that his majesty "was generally understood to be a prince of a "tender and merciful nature, which would not take "delight in the executing so much cruelty; and "therefore he conceived it might be very agreeable "to his inclination to declare, and promise, that "when it should please God to restore his majesty "to his government, he would never suffer those "laws to be executed, but would cause them to be "repealed; which generous and pious resolution "made known to the pope, would work very much "upon him, and dispose him to make an answer-"able return to his majesty." The king answered, "that his highness might very safely undertake on "his behalf, that if it should be in his power, it "should never be in his will, to execute those "severe laws: but that it was not in his power

" absolutely to repeal them; and it would be less " in his power to do it, if he declared that he " had a purpose to do it: therefore, that must be " left to time; and it might reasonably be pre- " sumed, that he would not be backward to do all " of that kind which he should find himself able to " do; and the declaration which he then made, his " majesty said, that he would be ready to make to " the person the duke meant to send, if he came to " him:" which was acknowledged to be as much as could be desired.

Germany is the only part of the world, where the Jesuits are looked upon to have the ascendant over all other men in the deepest mysteries of state and policy, insomuch as there is not a prince's court of the Roman catholic religion, wherein a man is held to be a good courtier, or to have a desire to be thought a wise man, who hath not a Jesuit to his confessor; which may be one of the reasons, that the policy of that nation is so different from, and so much undervalued by the other politic parts of the world. And therefore it is the less to be wondered at that this duke, who had himself extraordinary qualifications, retained that reverence for those who had taught him when he was young, that he believed them to grow, and to be improved as fast as he, and so to be still abler to inform him. Without doubt, he did believe his Jesuit to be a very wise man; and, it may be, knew, that he would think so to whom he was sent: and as soon as he came to him, he sent him to the king to be instructed and informed of his majesty's pleasure. The man had a very good aspect, and less vanity and presumption than that

society use to have, and seemed desirous to merit from the king by doing him service; but had not the same confidence he should do it, as his master had. And when he returned from Rome, he brought nothing with him from the pope but general good wishes for the king's restoration, and sharp complaints against cardinal Mazarine for being deaf to all overtures of peace; and that till then all attempts to serve his majesty would be vain and ineffectual: and concerning any supply of money, he told the duke, that the pope had used the same adage that his predecessor had done; and so that intrigue was determined.

The rest and quiet that the king proposed to himself in this necessitated retreat was disturbed by the impatience and activity of his friends in England; who, notwithstanding all his majesty's commands, and injunctions, not to enter upon any sudden and rash insurrections, which could only contribute to their own ruin, without the least benefit or advantage to his service, were so pricked and stung by the insolence of their enemies, and the uneasiness of their own condition and fortune, that they could not rest. They sent expresses every day to Cologne for more commissions and instructions, and made an erroneous judgment of their own strength and power, and concluded that all who hated the present government would concur with them to overthrow it, at least would act no part in the defence of it. They assured the king, "that they had made sufficient provision of "arms and ammunition, and had so many persons "engaged to appear upon any day that should be "assigned, that they only desired his majesty

" would appoint that day; and that they were so " united, that even the discovery before the day, " and the clapping up many persons in prison, " which they expected, should not break the de- " sign." The king knew well enough they would be deceived; and that, though the persons who sent those expresses were very honest men, and had served well in the war, and were ready to engage again, yet they were not equal to so great a work. However, it was not fit to discountenance or dishearten them; for, as many of his party were too restless and too active, so there were more of them remiss and lazy, and even abandoned to despair. The truth is, the unequal temper of those who wished very well, and the jealousy, at least the want of confidence in each other, made the king's part exceeding difficult. Very many who held correspondence with his majesty, and those he assigned to that office, would not trust each other; every body chose their own knot, with whom they would converse, and would not communicate with any body else; for which they had too just excuses from the discoveries which were made every day by want of wit, as much as want of honesty; and so men were cast into prison, and kept there, upon general jealousies. But this reservation, since they could not all resolve to be quiet, proved very grievous to the king; for he could not convert and restrain those who were too forward, by the counsel of those who stood in a better light, and could discern better what was to be done, because they could not be brought together to confer; and they who appeared to be less desperate were by the others reproached with being less affectionate, and

to want loyalty as much as courage: so they who were undone upon one and the same account, were oppressed and torn in pieces by one and the same enemy, and could never hope for recovery but by one and the same remedy, grew to reproach and revile one another, and contracted a greater animosity between themselves, than against their common adversary: nor could the king reconcile this distemper, nor preserve himself from being invaded by it.

Though the messengers who were sent were addressed only to the king himself, and to the chancellor of the exchequer, and were so carefully concealed, that no notice was taken or advertisement sent by the many spies, who were suborned to give intelligence of any one express that was sent to Cologne, yet they had commonly some friend or acquaintance in the court, with whom they conferred; and ever returned worse satisfied with those who made objections against what they proposed, or seemed to doubt that they would not be able to perform what they so confidently promised; and it was thought a very reasonable conviction of a man who liked not the most extravagant undertaking, if he were not ready to propose a better: so that his majesty thought fit often to seem to think better of many things promised than in truth he did. The messengers, which were sent this winter to Cologne, (who, I say still, were honest men, and sent from those who were such,) proposed to the king, as they had formerly done, "that when they were in arms, and had provided "a place where his majesty might land safely, he "would then be with them, that there might be no

" dispute upon command:" and in the spring they sent to him, " that the day was appointed, the " eighteenth of April, when the rising would be " general, and many places seized upon, and some " declare for the king, which were in the hands of " the army:" for they still pretended, and did believe, " that a part of the army would declare " against Cromwell at least, though not for the " king: that Kent was united to a man; Dover- " castle would be possessed, and the whole county " in arms upon that day; and therefore, that his " majesty would vouchsafe to be in some place, " concealed, upon the sea-coast, which it was very " easy for him to be on that day; from whence, " upon all being made good that was undertaken, " and full notice given to his majesty that it was " so, he might then, and not before, transport him- " self to that part which he thought to be in the " best posture to receive him, and might give such " other directions to the rest as he found neces- " sary:" and even all these particulars were communicated in confidence by the messengers to their friends who were near the king, and who again thought it but reasonable to raise the spirits of their friends, by letting them know in how happy a condition the king's affairs were in England; and " that his friends were in so good a posture " throughout the kingdom, that they feared not " that any discovery might be made to Cromwell, " being ready to own and justify their counsels " with their swords:" so that all this quickly became more than whispered throughout the court; and, " that the king was only expected to be nearer " England, how disguised soever, that he might

" quickly put himself into the head of the army " that would be ready to receive him, whereby all " emulations about command might be prevented, " or immediately taken away; and if his majesty " should now neglect this opportunity, it might " easily be concluded, that either he was betrayed, " or that his counsels were conducted by men of " very shallow capacities and understanding."

How weakly and improbably soever these preparations were adjusted, the day was positively appointed, and was so near, at the time when his majesty had notice of it, that it was not possible for him to send orders to contradict it: and he foresaw, that if any thing should be attempted without success, it would be imputed to his not being at a distance near enough to countenance it. On the other hand, it was neither difficult nor hazardous to his majesty, to remove that reproach, and to be in a place from whence he might advance if there were cause, or retire back to Cologne, if there were nothing to do; and all this with so little noise, that his absence should scarce be taken notice of. Hereupon, the messenger returned with the king's approbation of the day, and direction, " that, as soon as the day should be past, an ex- " press should be directed to Flushing at the sign " of the city of Rouen," (a known inn in that town,) " to inquire for an Englishman," (whose name was given him,) " who should be able to " inform him, whither he should repair to speak " with the king."

Before the messenger's departure, or the king's resolution was taken, the earl of Rochester, who was always jealous that somebody would be general

before him, upon the first news of the general disposition and resolution to be in arms, desired the king, "that he would permit him to go over in "disguise, to the end, that finding his way to "London, which was very easy, he might, upon "advising with the principal persons engaged, of "whom there was none who had not been com-"manded by him, or was not inferior to him in "command, assist them in their enterprise, and "make the best of that force which they could "bring together: and if he found that they were "not in truth competently provided to sustain the "first shock, he might, by his advice and authority, "compose them to expect a better conjuncture, "and in the mean time to give over all incon-"siderate attempts; and there would be little "danger in his withdrawing back again to his "majesty."

With this errand the earl left Cologne, under pretence of pursuing his business with the German princes, upon the donative of the diet; for which he used to make many journeys; and nobody suspected that he was gone upon any other design. But when he came into Flanders, he was not at all reserved; but in the hours of good fellowship, which was a great part of the day and night, communicated his purpose to any body he did believe would keep him company, and run the same hazard with him; and finding sir Joseph Wagstaff, who had served the king in the last war very honestly, and was then watching at the sea-coast to take the first opportunity to transport himself as soon as he should hear of the general insurrection, (which all letters to all places mentioned as a matter resolved

on,) Rochester frankly declared to him what he was going about: so they hired a bark at Dunkirk; and, without any misadventure, found themselves in safety together at London: but many of those who should have been in arms were seized upon, and secured in several prisons.

The messenger being despatched, the king, at the time appointed, and that he might be sure to be near at the day, left Cologne very early in the morning, attended only by the marquis of Ormond, and one groom to look to their horses: nor was it known to any body, but to the chancellor and the secretary Nicholas, whither the king was gone, they making such relations to inquisitive people, as they thought fit. The day before the king went, sir John Mennes, and John Nicholas, eldest son to the secretary, were sent into Zealand, to stay there till they should receive farther orders; the former of them being the person designed to be at the sign of the Rouen in Flushing, and the other to be near to prepare any thing for the king's hand that should be found necessary, and to keep the ciphers; both of them persons of undoubted fidelity.

There was a gentleman who lived in Middleburg, and of one of the best families and the best fortune there, who had married an English lady, who had been brought up in the court of the queen of Bohemia, and was the daughter of a gentleman of a very noble family, who had been long an officer in Holland. The king had made this Dutchman a baronet; and some, who were nearly acquainted with him, were confident that his majesty might secretly repose himself in his house, without any notice taken of him, as long as it would be neces-

sary for him to be concealed. And his majesty being first assured of this, made his journey directly thither, in the manner mentioned before; and being received, as he expected, in that house, he gave present notice to sir John Mennes and Mr. Nicholas, that they might know whither to resort to his majesty upon any occasion. Upon his first arrival there, he received intelligence, "that the "messenger who had been despatched from Co- "logne, met with cross winds and accidents in his "return, which had been his misfortune likewise "in his journey thither; so that he came not so "soon to London as was expected; whereupon "some conceived that the king did not approve "the day, and therefore excused themselves from "appearing at the time; others were well content "with the excuse, having discerned, with the ap- "proach of the day, that they had embarked "themselves in a design of more difficulty than "was at first apprehended; and some were actually "seized upon, and imprisoned, by which they were "incapable of performing their promise." Though this disappointment confirmed the king in his former belief, that nothing solid could result from such a general combination; yet he thought it fit, now he was in a post where he might securely rest, to expect what the earl of Rochester's presence, of whose being in London he was advertised, might produce. And by this time the chancellor of the exchequer, according to order, was come to Breda; from whence he every day might hear from, and send to the king.

There cannot be a greater manifestation of the universal prejudice and aversion in the whole king-

dom towards Cromwell and his government, than that there could be so many designs and conspiracies against him, which were communicated to so many men, and that such signal and notorious persons could resort to London, and remain there, without any such information or discovery, as might enable him to cause them to be apprehended; there being nobody intent and zealous to make any such discoveries, but such whose trade it was for great wages to give him those informations, who seldom care whether what they inform be true or no. The earl of Rochester consulted with great freedom in London with the king's friends; and found that the persons imprisoned were only taken upon general suspicion, and as being known to be of that party, not upon any particular discovery of what they designed or intended to do; and that the same spirit still possessed those who were at liberty. The design in Kent appeared not reasonable, at least not to begin upon; but he was persuaded, (and he was very credulous,) that in the north there was a foundation of strong hopes, and a party ready to appear powerful enough to possess themselves of York; nor had the army many troops in those parts. In the west likewise there appeared to be a strong combination, in which many gentlemen were engaged, whose agents were then in London, and were exceedingly importunate to have a day assigned, and desired no more, than that sir Joseph Wagstaff might be authorized to be in the head of them; who had been well known to them; and he was as ready to engage with them. The earl of Rochester liked the countenance of the north better; and sent Marmaduke Darcy, a gallant gen-

tleman, and nobly allied in those parts, to prepare the party there; and appointed a day and place for the rendezvous; and promised to be himself there; and was contented that sir Joseph Wagstaff should go into the west; who, upon conference with those of that country, likewise appointed their rendezvous upon a fixed day, to be within two miles of Salisbury. It was an argument that they had no mean opinion of their strength, that they appointed to appear that very day when the judges were to keep their assizes in that city, and where the sheriff and principal gentlemen of the county were obliged to give their attendance. Of both these resolutions the earl of Rochester, who knew where the king was, took care to advertise his majesty: who, from hence, had his former faint hopes renewed; and in a short time after they were so improved, that he thought of nothing more, than how he might with the greatest secresy transport himself into England; for which he did expect a sudden occasion.

Sir Joseph Wagstaff had been formerly major general of the foot in the king's western army, a man generally beloved; and though he was rather for execution than counsel, a stout man, who looked not far before him; yet he had a great companionableness in his nature, which exceedingly prevailed with those, who, in the intermission of fighting, loved to spend their time in jollity and mirth. He, as soon as the day was appointed, left London, and went to some of his friends' houses in the country, near the place, that he might assist the preparations as much as was possible. Those of Hampshire were not so punctual at their own rendezvous, as to be present at that near Salisbury at the hour;

however, Wagstaff, and they of Wiltshire, appeared according to expectation. Penruddock, a gentleman of a fair fortune, and great zeal and forwardness in the service, Hugh Grove, and other persons of condition, were there with a body of near two hundred horse well armed, which, they presumed, would every day be improved upon the access of those who had engaged themselves in the western association, especially after the fame of their being up, and effecting any thing, should come to their ears. They accounted that they were already strong enough to visit Salisbury in all its present lustre, knowing that they had many friends there, and reckoning that all who were not against them, were for them; and that they should there increase their numbers both in foot and horse; with which the town then abounded: nor did their computation and conjecture fail them. They entered the city about five of the clock in the morning: they appointed some officers, of which they had plenty, to cause all the stables to be locked up, that all the horses might be at their devotion; others, to break open the gaols, that all there might attend their benefactors. They kept a good body of horse upon the market-place, to encounter all opposition; and gave order to apprehend the judges and the sheriff, who were yet in their beds, and to bring them into the market-place with their several commissions, not caring to seize upon the persons of any others.

All this was done with so little noise or disorder, as if the town had been all of one mind. They who were within doors, except they were commanded to come out, stayed still there, being more desirous to hear than to see what was done; very many being

well pleased, and not willing that others should discern it in their countenance. When the judges were brought out in their robes, and humbly produced their commissions, and the sheriff likewise, Wagstaff resolved, after he had caused the king to be proclaimed, to cause them all three to be hanged, (who were half dead already,) having well considered, with the policy which men in such actions are naturally possessed with, how he himself should be used if he were under their hands, choosing therefore to be beforehand with them. But he having not thought fit to deliberate this beforehand with his friends, whereby their scrupulous consciences might have been confirmed, many of the country gentlemen were so startled with this proposition, that they protested against it; and poor Penruddock was so passionate to preserve their lives, as if works of this nature could be done by halves, that the major general durst not persist in it; but was prevailed with to dismiss the judges, and, having taken their commissions from them, to oblige them upon another occasion to remember to whom they owed their lives, resolving still to hang the sheriff; who positively, though humbly, and with many tears, refused to proclaim the king; which being otherwise done, they likewise prevailed with him rather to keep the sheriff alive, and to carry him with them to redeem an honester man out of the hands of their enemies. This seemed an ill omen to their future agreement, and submission to the commands of their general; nor was the tender-heartedness so general, but that very many of the gentlemen were much scandalized at it, both as it was a contradiction to their com-

mander in chief; and as it would have been a seasonable act of severity to have cemented those to perseverance who were engaged in it, and have kept them from entertaining any hopes but in the sharpness of their swords.

The noise of this action was very great both in and out of the kingdom, whither it was quickly sent. Without doubt it was a bold enterprise, and might have produced wonderful effects, if it had been prosecuted with the same resolution, or the same rashness, it was entered into. All that was reasonable in the general contrivance of insurrection and commotion over the whole kingdom, was founded upon a supposition of the division and faction in the army; which was known to be so great, that Cromwell durst not draw the whole army to a general rendezvous, out of apprehension that, when they should once meet together, he should no longer be master of them. And thence it was concluded, that, if there were in any one place such a body brought together as might oblige Cromwell to make the army, or a considerable part of it, to march, there would at least be no disposition in them to fight to strengthen his authority, which they abhorred. And many did at that time believe, that if they had remained with that party at Salisbury for some days, which they might well have done without any disturbance, their numbers would have much increased, and their friends farther west must have been prepared to receive them, when their retreat had been necessary by a stronger part of the army's marching against them. Cromwell himself was amazed; he knew well the distemper of the kingdom, and in his army, and now when

he saw such a body gathered together without any noise, that durst in the middle of the kingdom enter into one of the chief cities of it, when his judges and all the civil power of that county was in it, and take them prisoners, and proclaim the king in a time of full peace, and when no man durst so much as name him but with a reproach, he could not imagine, that such an enterprise could be undertaken without a universal conspiracy; in which his own army could not be innocent; and therefore knew not how to trust them together. But all this apprehension vanished, when it was known, that within four or five hours after they had performed this exploit, they left the town with very small increase or addition to their numbers.

The truth is, they did nothing resolutely after their first action; and were in such disorder and discontent between themselves, that without staying for their friends out of Hampshire, (who were, to the number of two or three hundred horse, upon their way, and would have been at Salisbury that night,) upon pretence that they were expected in Dorsetshire, they left the town, and took the sheriff with them, about two of the clock in the afternoon: but were so weary of their day's labour, and their watching the night before, that they grew less in love with what they were about, and differed again amongst themselves about the sheriff; whom many desired to be presently released; and that party carried it in hope of receiving good offices afterwards from him. In this manner they continued on their march westward. They from Hampshire, and other places, who were behind them, being angry for their leaving Salisbury, would not follow,

but scattered themselves; and they who were before them, and heard in what disorder they had left Wiltshire, likewise dispersed: so that after they had continued their journey into Devonshire, without meeting any who would join with them, horse and men were so tired for want of meat and sleep, that one single troop of horse, inferior in number, and commanded by an officer of no credit in the war, being in those parts by chance, followed them at a distance, till they were so spent, that he rather entreated than compelled them to deliver themselves; some, and amongst those Wagstaff, quitted their horses, and found shelter in some honest men's houses; where they were concealed till opportunity served to transport them into the parts beyond the seas, where they arrived safely. But Mr. Penruddock, Mr. Grove, and most of the rest, were taken prisoners, upon promise given by the officer that their lives should be saved; which they quickly found he had no authority to make good. For Cromwell no sooner heard of his cheap victory, than he sent judges away with a new commission of oyer and terminer, and order to proceed with the utmost severity against the offenders. But Roles, his chief justice, who had so luckily escaped at Salisbury, had not recovered the fright; and would no more look those men in the face who had dealt so kindly with him; but expressly refused to be employed in the service, raising some scruples in point of law, whether the men could be legally condemned; upon which Cromwell, shortly after, turned him out of his office, having found others who executed his commands. Penruddock and Grove lost their heads at Exeter; and others were

hanged there; who having recovered the faintness they were in when they rendered, died with great courage and resolution, professing their duty and loyalty to the king: many were sent to Salisbury, and tried and executed there, in the place where they had so lately triumphed; and some who were condemned, where there were fathers, and sons, and brothers, that the butchery might appear with some remorse, were reprieved, and sold, and sent slaves to the Barbadoes; where their treatment was such, that few of them ever returned into their own country. Thus this little fire, which probably might have kindled and inflamed all the kingdom, was for the present extinguished in the west; and Cromwell secured without the help of his army; which he saw, by the countenance it then shewed when they thought he should have use of them, it was high time to reform; and in that he resolved to use no longer delay.

The design of the north, which was thought to be much better prepared and provided for, made less noise, and expired more peaceably. The earl of Rochester, who saw danger at a distance with great courage, and looked upon it less resolutely when it was nearer, made his journey from London, with a friend or two, into Yorkshire at the time appointed; and found such an appearance of gentlemen upon the place, as might very well have deserved his patience. It appeared there had been some mistake in the notice that had been given, and they who did appear, undertook for many who were absent, that, if he would appoint another short day for a rendezvous, he should be well attended. Marmaduke Darcy had spent his time

very well amongst them, and found them well disposed, and there could be no danger in staying the time proposed, many of them having houses, where he might be well concealed, and the country generally wished well to the king, and to those who concerned themselves in his affairs. But he took many exceptions; complained, as if they had deceived him; and asked many questions, which were rather reasonable than seasonable, and which would have furnished reasons against entering upon the design, which were not to be urged now when they were to execute, and when indeed they had gone too far to retire. He had not yet heard of the ill success at Salisbury; yet he did not think the force which the gentlemen were confident they could draw together, before they could meet with any opposition, sufficient to enter upon any action, that was like to be dangerous in the end: so he resolved to stay no longer; the gentlemen being as much troubled that he had come at all; they parted with little good will to each other, the earl returning through by-roads to London, which was the securest place, from whence he gave the king notice of the hopelessness of affairs. If he had not been a man very fortunate in disguises, he could never have escaped so many perambulations. For as he was the least wary in making his journeys in safe hours, so he departed very unwillingly from all places where there was good eating and drinking; and entered into conferences with any strangers he met, or joined with.

When he returned from the north, he lodged at Aylesbury; and having been observed to ride out of the way in a large ground, not far from the

town, of which he seemed to take some survey, and had asked many questions of a country fellow who was there, (that ground in truth belonging to his own wife,) the next justice of peace had notice of it; who being a man devoted to the government, and all that country very ill affected always to the king, and the news of Salisbury, and the proclamation thereupon, having put all men upon their guard, came himself to the inn where the earl was; and being informed, that there were only two gentlemen above at supper, (for sir Nicholas Armorer was likewise with the earl, and had accompanied him in that journey,) he went into the stable; and upon view of the horses found they were the same which had been observed in the ground. The justice commanded the keeper of the inn, one Gilvy, who, besides that he was a person notoriously affected to the government, was likewise an officer, "that he should not suffer those "horses, nor the persons to whom they belonged, "to go out of the house, till he, the said justice, "came thither in the morning; when he would "examine the gentlemen, who they were, and "from whence they came." The earl was quickly advertised of all that passed below, and enough apprehensive of what must follow in the morning. Whereupon he presently sent for the master of the house, and nobody being present but his companion, he told him, "he would put his life into "his hands; which he might destroy or preserve: "that he could get nothing by the one, but by the "other he should have profit, and the good will of "many friends, who might be able to do him

"good." Then he told him who he was; and, as an earnest of more benefit that he might receive hereafter, he gave him thirty or forty Jacobus's, and a fair gold chain, which was more worth to be sold than one hundred pounds. Whether the man was moved by the reward, which he might have possessed without deserving it, or by generosity, or by wisdom and foresight, for he was a man of a very good understanding, and might consider the changes which followed after, and in which this service proved of advantage to him, he did resolve to permit and contrive their escape: and though he thought fit to be accountable to the justice for their horses, yet he caused two other, as good for their purpose, of his own, to be made ready by a trusty servant in another stable; who, about midnight, conducted them into London-way; which put them in safety. The inn-keeper was visited in the morning by the justice; whom he carried into the stable, where the horses still stood, he having still kept the key in his own pocket, not making any doubt of the persons whilst he kept their horses; but the inn-keeper confessed they were escaped out of his house in the night, how or whither he could not imagine. The justice threatened loud; but the inn-keeper was of that unquestionable fidelity, and gave such daily demonstration of his affection to the commonwealth, that Cromwell more suspected the connivance of the justice, (who ought not to have deferred the examination of the persons till the morning,) than the integrity of a man so well known as the inn-keeper was. The earl remained in London whilst

the inquiry was warm and importunate, and afterwards easily procured a passage for Flanders; and so returned to Cologne.

As soon as the king received advertisement of the ill successes in England, and that all their hopes were for the present blasted there, he left Zealand, and, returning by Breda, stayed in a dorp near the town, till the chancellor of the exchequer attended him; and then returned with all speed to Cologne; where his little court was quickly gathered together again, and better disposed to sit still, and expect God's own time. His majesty was exceedingly afflicted with the loss of so many honest gentlemen in England, who had engaged themselves so desperately, not only without, but expressly against his majesty's judgment: and he was the more troubled, because he was from several of his friends from thence advertised, "that all his counsels were discovered; and that Cromwell had "perfect intelligence of whatsoever his majesty "resolved to do, and of all he said himself; so "that it would not be safe for any body to correspond with him, or to meddle in his affairs or "concernments: that his coming into Zealand, "and his continuance there, was known to Cromwell, with all the particulars of his motion; that "many persons of condition were seized upon, and "imprisoned for having a design to possess themselves of some towns, and places of strength; "which intelligence could not be given but from "Cologne;" implying, "that the miscarriage in all "the last designs proceeded wholly from the treason of some persons near his majesty." The king did not at all wonder that Cromwell, and his in-

struments, took great pains to make it generally be believed, that they knew all that was resolved or thought of at Cologne; but that any men who were really devoted to his service, and who had kindness and esteem for all those who were trusted by his majesty, should be wrought upon to believe those reports, very much disturbed him.

Whilst he was in this agony, and immediately after his return to Cologne, a discovery was made of a villainy, that made him excuse his friends in England for their jealousy, and yet composed his own mind from any fear of being betrayed, it being an imposture of such a nature, as was dangerous and ridiculous together. There was one Manning, a proper young gentleman, bred a Roman catholic in the family of the marquis of Worcester, whose page he had been. His father, of that religion likewise, had been a colonel in the king's army; and was slain at the battle of Alresford; where this young man, being then a youth, was hurt, and maimed in the left arm and shoulder. This gentleman came to Cologne shortly after the king came thither first, and pretended, "that he had "sold the incumbered fortune his father had left "him; upon which, he had enough to maintain "him, and resolved to spend it in waiting upon the "king, till his majesty should be able to raise an "army; in which he hoped to have an opportunity "to revenge his father's blood;" with many discourses of that nature; and he brought a letter to Dr. Earles from his uncle Manning, who was well known to him, to commend his nephew to his conversation. He was a handsome man, had store of good clothes, and plenty of money; which, with

the memory of his father, easily introduced him, and made him acceptable to the company that was there. He knew most of the king's party in England, and spoke as if he were much trusted by them, and held correspondence with them; and had every week the Diurnal, and the news of London, which seldom else came so far as Cologne. He associated himself most with the good fellows, and eat in their company, being well provided for the expense. By degrees, he insinuated himself with the earl of Rochester, and told him, "that all "the king's party looked upon him as the general "who must govern and command them; for which "they were very impatient: that he himself would "be ready to run his fortune, and attend him into "England; and that he had two hundred good "men listed, who would appear well mounted and "armed, whenever he should require them; and "that he knew where good sums of money lay "ready to be applied to that service." The earl was ravished with this discourse, and looked upon him as a man sent from heaven to advance his designs; and asked him, "whether he had been with "the chancellor of the exchequer, and communi-"cated all this to him?" He said, "he had, at his "first coming to town, waited upon the chancellor; "and intended to have spoken of this, and much "more than he had yet spoken, if he had been "vacant, or willing to hear: but he seemed to him "too reserved; which he imputed then to some "business that possessed him, and therefore made "him a second visit; when he found him with the "same wariness, and without a desire to be in-"formed by him concerning the affairs of that

"kingdom; so that he resolved to visit him no "more."

In the end, he told the earl, "that he would "impart a secret to him of the last importance, "and which he had not yet had opportunity to "inform the king of, and, he did believe, it would "be the same thing to impart it to his lordship as "to his majesty himself: the sum was, that he "was trusted by the young earl of Pembroke, "whose affections were entire for his majesty, to "assure the king of the same; and that though it "would not be safe for him to appear in the head "and beginning of an insurrection, he would ad- "vance it as much as if he were there in person; "and because he knew the west was better pre- "pared to begin the work than any other part of "the kingdom, he had caused three thousand "pounds to be laid aside, and kept ready at Wilton, "which should be delivered to any man, who, in "the king's name, should require it of such a "man," (naming a person, who was known to be much trusted by that earl,) "upon delivery of a "private token he produced out of his pocket," (which was a clean piece of paper, sealed with three impressions of an antique head in hard wax,) "which," he said, "the earl required him to pre- "sent to the king when he thought it might be "seasonable." He added, "that he would be "glad to be himself in that first engagement, and "so to be present when that token should be "delivered; yet he considered, that he was not "enough known to have such a secret imparted "to him, as the time of such an action ought "to be; and therefore, if it pleased the king,

" he would presently deliver that token into his " lordship's hands; who, he was confident, would " be the first that would have opportunity to " employ it."

The earl had the journey then in his head, which he made shortly after; and thought such a treasure as this would much advance the service. He made haste to inform the king of the whole, that he might have his approbation to receive the token. To that purpose, he brought the man to the king; who had never before taken other notice of him, than for his bringing the Diurnal constantly to be read to his majesty after dinner, or supper, as he received it. He made a large relation to the king of what the earl of Pembroke had commanded him to say, and presented the token to his majesty for the three thousand pounds; the manner of his discourse being such, as the king had not the least suspicion of the truth of it. As soon as he left the king, the earl brought him to the chancellor, conjuring him to use him with great kindness, and gently reproaching him for his want of courtesy to him before; which he wondered at; for it was very true that Manning had visited him twice before, and it was as true, that he had received him with as much civility as was possible, having known his father, and most of his family, and was glad to see him frequently at prayers, well knowing that he had been bred a Roman catholic; and the young man had seemed much pleased with the reception he had given him. But from that time that he made that relation concerning the earl of Pembroke, which he repeated over to him as he had related it to the king, the chancellor always

suspected him; and could not prevail with himself to have any familiarity with him; which the other complained heavily of, and the chancellor was much reproached for not treating a person of so much merit, who had lost his father, and been himself maimed in the king's service, with more openness; for he did always use him with all necessary civility. But the chancellor's knowledge of the earl of Pembroke, and of the humour that then possessed him, and of the uneasiness of his own fortune, which did not make him at that time master of much money, besides that he believed that, if the thing were true, he should have received advertisement sooner of it from a person who was most trusted by the earl, and who corresponded very constantly with the chancellor, made him distrust him. He therefore told the king, "that he doubted Manning "had made that part of the story to make himself "the more welcome;" which his majesty did not think was a reasonable jealousy; but wished him to use all the means he could to discover the truth. The chancellor had no farther suspicion of him, nor the least apprehension that he was a spy.

When it was discovered that the king was absent from Cologne, at that time that he made his journey to Zealand, in the manner that is mentioned before, the earl of Rochester being departed from thence some time before, Mr. Manning appeared wonderfully troubled, and complained to some, "that he being intrusted by all the king's friends, "who would not credit any orders but such as "should pass through his hands, the king was "now gone without imparting it to him; which "would be the ruin of his design." He went to

the chancellor, and lamented himself, "that there "should be any sword drawn in England before "his; his father's blood boiled within him, and "kept him from sleep." He desired him therefore, "that he would so far communicate the design to "him, that he might only know to what part of "England to transport himself, that he might "be in action as soon as might be possible." He could draw nothing from the chancellor; who told him, "that he knew of no probability of any "action; and therefore could give no advice." Upon which he complained much of the chancellor's want of kindness to him: but he lost no time in following the king; and having great acquaintance with Herbert Price, a man much trusted by the earl of Rochester, and that affected to know, or to be thought to know, the greatest secrets, he prevailed with him, upon bearing his charges, to accompany him, that they might find out where the king was, at least that they might be ready on the sea-coast, to transport themselves into England upon the first occasion. Whether by accident, or that the earl of Rochester had made any mention of Zealand to Mr. Price, thither they both came; and seeing sir John Mennes and Mr. Nicholas there, they believed there might likewise be others of their Cologne friends. Herbert Price, as he was a man of a very inquisitive nature, watched so narrowly, that he found an opportunity to meet the king in an evening, when he used to walk to take a little air after the day's confinement. The king, since he was discovered, thought it best to trust him; and charged him, "not only to make no "discovery, but to remove out of the island, lest

"his being seen there might raise suspicion in "other men." He did very importunately desire the king that he might bring Manning to speak with him, as not only an honest man, (as no doubt he thought him to be,) but a man of that importance and trust, as might contribute much to his present service. But the king would by no means admit him, nor did he see him; yet afterwards, upon this reflection, his majesty concluded that Cromwell came to be informed of his being in Zealand, without any reproach to Mr. Price's fidelity; which was not suspected, though his presumption and importunity were always very inconvenient.

Shortly after the king's return to Cologne, Manning likewise came thither with his accustomed confidence. And in this time the chancellor received advertisement from England, "that he had "no kind of trust from the earl of Pembroke, but, "on the contrary, had been turned out of his "service upon matter of dishonesty; and that he "was a loose person, of no reputation:" and his majesty was informed by others from Antwerp, "that every post brought many letters for him, "which were taken up there, and transmitted to "Cologne; and that he had letters of credit upon "a merchant of Antwerp for good sums of money." All this raised a suspicion in the king; who gave direction to a trusty person, who was purposely sent to take up all those letters at Antwerp, which were sent thither from England for him, it being known under what cover they came, and likewise those which were sent from Cologne by him, his address being likewise discovered. By this means

the party returned with many great packets both from and to him; which being opened, and read, administered matter of great amazement. There were letters from Thurlow, Cromwell's secretary and principal minister, containing the satisfaction the protector received in the particular intelligence he received from him, with short instructions how he should behave himself. The person employed had been so dexterous, that he brought with him Manning's letters of three posts, all full of the most particular things done at Cologne; and the particular words said by the king, and others, that must needs affect those who should receive the intelligence; but of all which there was nothing true; no such action had been done, no such word spoken.

In one letter, after such information as he thought fit, he said, "that by the next he should "send such advice as was of much more moment "than he had ever yet sent, and above what he "had given from Zealand, and by which they "might see, that there was nothing so secret at "Cologne, of which he could not be informed, if "he had money enough;" and therefore desired the bill for the thousand crowns might be despatched. Together with this, the letter of the subsequent post was likewise seized upon; and by his method, which was afterwards discovered, it was very probable that they were both sent at one and the same time, and by the same post, though they were of several dates. That of the latter date was very long, and in it was enclosed an overture or design for the surprise and taking of Plymouth; in which there was a very exact and true descrip-

tion of the town, and fort, and island, and the present strength and force that was there. Then a proposition, that a vessel with five hundred men (there were no more desired) should come to such a place, (a creek described,) and, upon a sign then given, such a place in the town should be first seized upon, whilst others should possess both the fort and the island. The names of the persons who undertook to do both the one and the other, were likewise set down; and they were all men known to be well affected to the king, who, with the assistance of that five hundred men, might indeed be able to master the place. For the better going through the work when it was thus begun, there was an undertaking that sir Hugh Pollard, and other persons named, who were all notable men for their zeal to the king's service, should be ready from the Devonshire side, as colonel Arundel and others from Cornwall, to second and support what was to be done.

The letter informed, "that when the king deli- "vered that paper to the council," (which, he said, "he had received from a very good hand, it "was read twice;" and then the marquis of Ormond made this and this objection, and others found this and that difficulty in the execution of the enterprise, all which the chancellor answered very clearly, and the king himself said very much of the easiness of the undertaking,) "there was "one difficulty urged, that the king himself ap- "peared to be startled at, and looked upon the "chancellor; who arose from his place, and went "to the king's chair, and whispered somewhat in "his ear. Whereupon his majesty told the lords,

" that he had indeed forgot somewhat that the " chancellor put him in mind of, and for that par- " ticular they should refer the care of it to him, " who would take it upon him; and so the matter " was resolved, and the earl of Rochester under- " took for the five hundred men, and their trans- " portation." Manning concluded, " that if he had " money, they should know constantly how this " design should be advanced, or any other set on " foot." Every body was exceedingly amazed at this relation, in which there was not one syllable of truth. There had never such a proposition been made, nor was there any such debate or discourse. There were in his letter many vain insinuations of his interest, as if he were never out the king's company. Two of the king's servants were sent to seize upon his person and his papers; who found him in his chamber writing, and his cipher and papers before him; all which they possessed themselves of without any resistance. There were several letters prepared, and made up with the dates proper for many posts to come, with information and intelligence of the same nature as the former.

The secretary of state and one of the lords of the council were sent to examine him; to whom he confessed, without any reserve, " that the necessity " of his fortune had exposed him to that base con- " dition of life; and, to make himself fit for it, he " had dissembled his religion; for," he said, " he " remained still a catholic: that he was sent over " by Thurlow to be a spy wherever the king should " be, and had constantly sent him intelligence, for " which he had received good sums of money;

" yet, that he had been so troubled in mind for the " vileness of the life he led, that he was resolved, " by raising great expectations in them, to draw a " good sum of money from them; and then to " renounce farther correspondence, and to procure " the king's pardon, and faithfully to serve him." Being asked, why he made such relations, which had no truth in them, he answered, " that if he " had come to the knowledge of any thing which " in truth had concerned the king, he would never " have discovered it; but he thought it would do " no prejudice to the king, if he got money from " the rebels by sending them lies, which could " neither do them good, nor hurt his majesty; " and therefore all his care was to amuse them " with particulars, which he knew would please " them; and so when he was alone he always " prepared letters containing such things as oc- " curred to his invention, to be sent by the suc- " ceeding posts, and that he had never written any " thing that was true, but of his majesty's being in " Zealand; which, he believed, could produce no " prejudice to him."

The king now discerned from whence all the apprehensions of his friends proceeded; and that they had too much ground for their jealousies; for though none of his counsels had been discovered, they who had received those letters might reasonably think that none of them were concealed; and might well brag to their confidents of their knowing all that the king did. By this means, such particulars were transmitted to the king's friends, as could not but very much amuse them, and, no doubt, was the cause of the commitment of

very many persons, and of some who had no purpose to suffer for their loyalty. His majesty took care to publish the transactions of this man, with the method of the intelligence he gave; by which his friends discerned with what shadows they had been affrighted, and his enemies likewise discovered what current ware they had received for their money: yet they endeavoured to have it believed that he was not a man sent over by them, but a secretary in great trust about some person employed, whom they had corrupted: in which men were likewise quickly undeceived, and knew that he was a man without any dependence or relation to, or countenance from the court.

As the king's hopes were much eclipsed in England by the late unseasonable attempt, and the loss of so many gallant persons, as perished, or were undone in it; so Cromwell advanced his own credit, and was infinitely enriched by it, and more confirmed with those who were of doubtful faith towards him. He lay before under the reproach of devising plots himself, that the commonwealth might be thought in danger, to the end he might have excuse to continue so vast forces still in pay. Whereas it now appeared how active and confident the king's party still was, and that they would not have had the presumption to make so bold an attempt in the middle of the kingdom, if they had not had good assurance of being seconded; and therefore they were to look upon the fire as only raked up, not extinguished. The success and triumph of a few desperate persons at Salisbury, that had produced such a consternation throughout the kingdom, and would have endangered the

security of the whole west, if there had not happened some accidental confusion amongst the undertakers, was evidence enough that there was not yet force sufficient to provide for the safety of the kingdom; and therefore that it was necessary to make better provision for the quiet of every county, that it might not be endangered by every bold attempt: and the charge that this necessary defence would cause should in justice be borne by those who were the occasion of the expense.

Thereupon he made by his own authority, and that of his council, an order, "that all those who "had ever borne arms for the king, or had de- "clared themselves to be of the royal party, should "be decimated, that is, pay a tenth part of all that "estate which they had left, to support the charge "which the commonwealth was put to, by the "unquietness of their temper, and the just cause "of jealousy which they had administered." And that the public might lose nothing of what he had so frankly given to it, commissioners were appointed in every county, to value what that tenth part of every such estate did amount to; and that no man might have too good a bargain of his own, every man was obliged to pay as much as those commissioners judged fit; and till he paid it, besides imprisonment, which was a judgment apart, and inflicted once or twice a year, as the jealousies wrought, his whole estate was sequestered. And in this decimation there was no consideration taken of former compositions, of any articles of war, or of any acts of pardon and indemnity, which had been granted under their great seal, without inquiry into their actions, or so much as accusing

any of them of any crime or guilt, or of having any correspondence with the king or any body trusted by him; or that they were in any degree privy to the late designs or insurrection.

That this order might be submitted to, and executed, he published a declaration to make the justice as well as the necessity of that proceeding appear; in which he did not only set down the grounds of his present proceeding against the royal party, but the rules by which he meant to proceed against any other party that should provoke, or give him trouble. It was a declaration worded and digested with much more asperity against all who had served the king, than had ever been before published. Great caution had been hitherto used, as if nothing more had been desired than to unite the whole nation in the joint defence of the common interest, and as if a resolution had been taken to have abolished all marks of disunion and distinction of parties, and that all men, of what condition soever, (except those who had been always excepted by name,) who would submit to the government, should be admitted to have shares, and to act parts in the administration and defence of it. But now notice was taken of "such an "inherent malignity, and irreconcilableness in all "those who from the beginning had adhered to "the king, and opposed the proceedings of the "parliament, towards all those who had served "their country, and vindicated the interest of the "people and nation, that they declined the com-"mon rules of civility, and would have no con-"versation with them; and, that the same malice "and animosity might descend to their posterity,

" they would not make marriages, or any friend-
" ship or alliance, with those who had been sepa-
" rated, or divided from them in those public
" contentions; and therefore they were not here-
" after to wonder, or complain, if they were looked
" upon as a common enemy, which must be kept
" from being able to do mischief; since they
" would always be willing to do all they could;
" and that they were not to expect to be prose-
" cuted, like other men, by the ordinary forms of
" justice, and to have their crimes to be proved by
" witnesses, before they should be concluded to be
" guilty. If any desperate attempts were under-
" taken by any of that party to disturb the public
" peace, that it would be reasonable to conclude
" that they all wished well to it, though they
" appeared not to own it: that all conspiracies
" of that nature were acted in secret, and were
" deeds of darkness, and men might justly be
" suspected and proceeded against as privy to
" them, by their common discourses, by the com-
" pany they usually kept, and by their very looks;"
with many other expressions, of such an unusual nature in the disquisition of justice, and legal proceedings, that the king's party might reasonably conclude, they had nothing left that they could call their own, but must expect a total extirpation, either by massacre, or transplantation.

But then the declaration took notice likewise of
" the factions in the army, that would not acquiesce
" in the government established; but would have
" another found out, and formed according to their
" levelling humours; all which distractions, to what
" other ends soever directed, must so weaken the

" commonwealth, if not wisely prevented, as it " must in the end be exposed as a prey to their " inveterate enemies; and therefore, that the same " remedies must be applied to them, as to the " others;" with intimation clear enough, " that " the connivance they had formerly received, and " even the pardons that had been granted for their " former mutinies and transgressions, were of no " more validity than the articles, promises, and acts " of indemnity, which had been granted to the " royal party: all which were declared to be void " and null, upon any succeeding delinquency:" so that all discontented people who liked not the present government, what part soever they had acted in the pulling down the old, whether presbyterian, independent, or leveller, were left to consider of the consequence of those maxims there laid down; and might naturally conclude, that they were in no better condition of security for what they enjoyed, and had purchased dearly, than those who by their help were brought to the lowest misery; though, for the present, none but the king's party underwent that insupportable burden of decimation; which brought a vast incredible sum of money into Cromwell's coffers, the greater part whereof was raised (which was a kind of pleasure, though not ease, to the rest) upon those who never did, nor ever would have given the king the least assistance, and were only reputed to be of his party because they had not assisted the rebels with a visible cheerfulness, or in any considerable proportion; and had proposed to themselves to sit still as neuters, and not to be at any charge with reference to either party; or such who had sheltered them-

selves in some of the king's garrisons for their own conveniency.

This declaration was quickly sent to Cologne; where the king caused an answer to be made to it upon the grounds that were laid down in it; and as if it were made by one who had been always of the parliament side, and who was well pleased to see the cavaliers reduced to that extremity; but with such reflections upon the tyranny that was exercised over the kingdom, and upon the foulness of the breach of trust the protector was guilty of, that it obliged all the nation to look upon him as a detestable enemy, who was to be removed by any way that offered itself; many of which arguments were made use of against him in the next parliament that he called; which was not long after.

THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH BOOK.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XV.

THE king remained at Cologne above two years, contending with the rigour of his fortune with great temper and magnanimity; whilst all the princes of Europe seemed to contend amongst themselves, who should most eminently forget and neglect him; and whilst Cromwell exercised all imaginable tyranny over those nations, who had not been sensible enough of the blessings they enjoyed under his majesty's father's peaceable and mild government: so that he might have enjoyed some of that comfort and pleasure, which Velleius Paterculus says that Marius and Carthage had, when his banishment reduced him to end his life in the ruins of that city, as he did; *Marius aspiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alter alteri possent esse solatio:* whilst he refreshed himself with the memory of his greatness, when he overthrew that great and famous city; and she again, delighted to behold her destroyer, expelled

from his country, which he had served so eminently, and forced, forsaken of all men, to end his life and to be buried in her ashes. If the king's nature could have been delighted with such reflections, he might have had argument abundant in seeing Scotland, which first threw off, wantonly, its own peace and plenty, and infected the other two kingdoms with its rebellion, now reduced, and governed by a rod of iron; vanquished and subdued by those to whom they had taught the science of rebellion, and with whom they had joined, by specious pretences, and vows, and horrible perjuries, to subdue and destroy their own natural prince, and dissolve the government, to which they had been subject ever since they were a people: in seeing the pride and insolence of that nation, which had used to practise such ill manners towards their king, suppressed, contemned, and subdued by those who had been instructed by them how to use their arms, and exposed to slavery under the discipline and castigation of men who were not born gentlemen, but bred up in the trades and professions of common men. These men governed in their houses, and prescribed new laws to them to live by, which they had never been accustomed to, yet were compelled to obey, upon penalty of their lives and estates; whilst their adored idol, presbytery, which had pulled off the crown from the head of the king, was trod under foot, and laughed at and contemned; and their preachers, who had threatened their princes with their rude thunder of excommunication, disputed with, scoffed at, and controlled by artificers, and corrected by the strokes and blows of a corporal; and all this

subjection supported at their own charge, their fierce governors being paid by them out of their own estates.

He then beheld Ireland, that begun its rebellion with inhuman massacres, and butcheries of their peaceable and innocent neighbours, after the other of Scotland was suppressed, or so compounded, that the blessing of peace had again covered the three nations, if this sottish people had not, without any provocation, but of their own folly and barbarity, with that bloody prologue engaged again the three kingdoms in a raging and devouring war; so that though Scotland blew the first trumpet, it was Ireland that drew the first blood; and if they had not at that time rebelled, and in that manner, it is very probable all the miseries, which afterwards befel the king, and his dominions, had been prevented. These unhappy people, when they saw that they could not make war, but were beaten as often as encountered, would not yet make peace; or if they did, they no sooner made it than broke it, with all the circumstances of treachery and perjury, that can make any foul action the most odious. And after they had, for their last preservation, returned to their obedience to the king, and put themselves again under his protection, they quickly repented of their loyalty, offered themselves to the sovereignty of a foreign prince; and when they had seen their natural king murdered by his other rebels, for want of that assistance which they might have given him, chose rather to depend on the clemency of the usurper, driving from them the governor and government of the king: I say, his majesty saw now this miserable people grovel-

ling at the feet of their proud conquerors, reduced to the highest desolation, and even to the point of extirpation; the blood they had wantonly and savagely spilt in the beginning of the rebellion, now plentifully revenged in streams of their own blood, from one end of the kingdom to the other; whilst those persons who first contrived the rebellion, and could never be reached by the king, and they who caused every peace to be broken which had been made with his majesty, with all the possible affronts to his royal dignity and authority, after they had endeavoured, by all the treacherous offices against the royal power, to reconcile themselves to their new masters, were every day taken, and infamously put to death by their authority who usurped the government; who sold, as hath been said before, so many thousands of them to the services of foreign princes, under whom they perished for want of bread, and without regard: so that there is not an account in history of any nation, the Jews only excepted, that was ever reduced to a more complete misery and contempt than the Irish were at this time. And all this was the more extraordinary, in that it was without the pity of any, all the world looking upon them as deserving the fate they underwent.

Lastly, England, that seemed to glory in the conquest of those two kingdoms, and to reign peaceably over them, yielded a prospect too, full of variety. Though the king's heart was even broken with the daily informations he received of the ruin and destruction his faithful and loyal party underwent; and the butchery frequently acted upon them, and the extreme tyranny the usurper exer-

cised over the whole nation, was grievous to him, yet he could not be equally afflicted to see those who had been the first authors of the public calamity, now so much sharers in it, that they were no more masters of their estates, than they were whom they had first spoiled; and that themselves were brought and exposed upon those scaffolds, which they had caused to be erected for others; that little or no part of the new government was in their hands which had pulled down the old; and that, after monarchy had been made so odious to the people, the whole wealth of the nation was become at the disposal of a single person; and that those lords, without whose monstrous assistance the sceptre could never have been wrested out of the hands of the king, were now numbered and marshalled with the dregs of the people: in a word, that Cromwell was not so jealous of any, as of those who had raised him; and contrived and proposed nothing more to himself, than to suppress those, or to drive them out of the kingdom, who had been the principal means to suppress the royal authority, and to drive the royal family, and all that adhered to it, into banishment.

This prospect the king had of the three kingdoms which had revolted from him during his residence at Cologne; but with those manifestations of God's vengeance upon those ingrateful nations, of which he had a most tender and compassionate feeling, he was not without some glimmering light to discern an approach of that recompense, which the divine justice usually assigns to those who patiently attend his vindication.

Cromwell, whose great heart was solicitous to

extend the terror of his name into foreign countries, by which method he thought to render the rough and stubborn humours of his own people, which vexed him exceedingly, more obsequious to him, had in the beginning of the year 1655, after his dissolution of his stubborn parliament, sent two very great fleets to sea; the one under Pen, consisting of about thirty ships of war, with which there was likewise embarked a land army, consisting of four or five thousand foot, and two troops of horse, under the command of general Venables, a gentleman of a good family in Cheshire; who had served long in the army in the condition of a colonel, and was then called out of Ireland to serve in this expedition.

Both these superior officers were well affected to the king's service, and were not fond of the enterprise they were to conduct, the nature of which they yet knew nothing of. They did, by several ways, without any communication with each other, (which they had not confidence to engage in,) send to the king, that if he were ready with any force from abroad, or secure of possessing any port within, they would, that is, either of them would, engage, with the power that was under their charge, to declare for his majesty. If this had been upon a joint and mutual confidence in each other, and that both fleet, and land forces, though the body of horse was small, would at the same time erect the king's standard, it might have been the foundation of some hopeful expectation. But neither of them daring to trust the other, the king could not presume upon any port; without which neither had promised to engage; nor could he make out of the

distinct overtures (however he might hope to unite them) such a probable attempt, after the miscarriage of so many, as to embark his friends in. So he wished them to reserve their affections for his majesty, till a more proper season to discover them; and to prosecute the voyage to which they were designed; from which he was not without hope of some benefit to himself; for it was evident Cromwell meant to make some enemy, which probably might give his majesty some friend.

The other fleet was not inferior in naval strength, and power, but was without a land army; and that was committed to the command of Blake; in whom Cromwell had all confidence. Neither fleet knew what the other, or what itself was to do, till each of them came to such a point; where they were to open their commissions; and Cromwell had communicated his purpose for either to so very few, that, for many months after they were both at sea, nobody knew to what they were designed. Though the intercourse between Cromwell and the cardinal was maintained with many civilities, and some confidence, yet there was nothing of a treaty signed; he resolving, as he professed, "to give his friend "ship to that crown that should best deserve it:" and, without doubt, both crowns were amused with his preparations, and solicitous to know where the storm would fall.

Spain, that had hitherto kept don Alonzo de Cardinas in England, after he had so many years resided there as ambassador to the late king, believing they were less faulty in that than if they should send another originally to Cromwell, now thought it necessary to omit no occasion to endear

themselves to him; and therefore they sent the marquis of Leyda with a splendid train, as extraordinary ambassador, to congratulate all his successes, and to offer him the entire friendship of the catholic king. The marquis, who was a wise and a jealous man, found by his reception, and Cromwell's reservation in all his audiences, and the approaches he could make, that there was no room left for his master; and so, after a month spent there, he returned to look to his government in Flanders, with an expectation that as soon as any news came of the fleets, they should hear of some acts of hostility upon the subjects of Spain; and did all he could to awaken all the ministers of that king to the same apprehension and expectation.

The two fleets set out from the coast of England about the same time; that under Blake, made its course directly to the Mediterranean; being bound in the first place to suppress the insolence of those of Algiers and Tunis, who had infested the English merchants, and were grown powerful in those seas. When he should have performed that service, he was to open another commission, which would inform him what course he was to steer. The other fleet under Pen was bound directly to the Barbadoes; where they were to open their commissions, and to deliver letters to that governor. There they found, that they were to take in new men for the land army, and then to prosecute their course directly to the island of Hispaniola. The governor had orders to supply new men for the expedition; and there were ships ready for their transportation, there being a mar-

vellous alacrity in the planters of those Leeward islands, which were oppressed with inhabitants, to seek their fortune farther from home. So that, after a shorter stay at the Barbadoes than they had reason to expect, having now found there two frigates, (which Cromwell had sent before to prepare all things ready, and to put several shallops together, which were brought ready in quarters,) and making prize of about forty Dutch ships, belonging to their new allies of Holland, for trading thither, (contrary to the act of navigation,) about the end of March they set sail, with an addition of four or five thousand foot for the land army, towards St. Christopher's; where, after a short stay, they received about fifteen hundred men more: so that Venables had now under his command a body of above nine thousand men, with one troop of horse more, which the planters of the Barbadoes joined to him; and having a prosperous wind, they came, about the middle of April, within view of Santo Domingo; which is the chief city and port of the island of Hispaniola.

Their orders from Cromwell were very particular, and very positive, that they should land at such a place, which was plainly enough described to them. But whether they did not clearly understand it, or thought it not so convenient, when they were near enough to make a judgment of it, they called a council of war; and it was there resolved that general Venables should land in another place, (which they conceived to be much nearer the town than in truth it was,) and from thence march directly to it, there being another brigade of foot to be landed, at a less distance from the town, in a

bay, that should join with them; and join they did. But by the march which Venables had made, in which he spent two days and a half in the woods and uneasy passages, and in the terrible heat of that country's sun, where they found no water to drink, they were so dispirited before they joined with their companions, that it was an ill presage of the misadventure that followed. The loss of that time in their advance had another very ill effect. For the inhabitants of the town, that, at the first appearance of such a fleet, the like whereof in any degree they had never seen before, had been seized upon by such a consternation, that they despaired of making any resistance, when they saw their enemies proceed so slowly, and engaged in such a march as must tire and infinitely annoy them, they recovered their spirits, and prepared for their defence. So that when Venables, upon the conjunction with his other forces, and after having found some fresh water to refresh his men, advanced towards the town, his forlorn hope found themselves charged by a party of horse armed with long lances, and other arms, which they had not been accustomed to; so, tired and dismayed with their march and heat, they bore the charge very ill, and were easily routed, and routed those which were behind them; and were, in that disorder, pursued till they came to their main body; upon sight whereof the Spaniard retired without any loss, having left the captain of the forlorn hope, and above fifty of his company, dead upon the place. The English retired back in great discomfort to the bay, and the fresh water river they had found there; where they stayed so long, that the general

thought his men not only enough refreshed, but enough confirmed in their resolutions to redeem the shame of their last disorder, having got guides, who undertook to conduct them a nearer way to the city, and that they should not go near a fort, which the Spaniards had in a wood, from whence they had been infested. The common opinion that the negroes, natives of those parts, are such enemies to the Spaniards, that they are willing to betray them, and do any mischief to them, might possibly incline the English to give credit to those guides. But they did conduct them directly to the fort; near which an ambuscade in the woods discharged a volley again upon the forlorn hope, and fell then in upon them with such fury, that disordered the whole army; which, though it recovered the courage once more to make an attempt upon that fort, was again seized upon by a panic fear, which made them directly fly back to the bay with the loss of above six hundred men, whereof their major general was one.

This fright they never recovered; but, within few days after, having undergone many distresses by the intolerable heat of the climate, and the negroes killing their men every day, as they went into the woods to find meat, they were, within five or six days after the beginning of May, compelled to reimbark themselves on board the fleet, with a thousand men less than had been landed, who had by several ways lost their lives there; for which they revenged themselves upon a neighbour island, called Jamaica; where they made another descent, took their city, and drove all the inhabitants into the woods. And here they left a good body of

foot, consisting of three or four thousand men, under the command of a colonel, to fortify and plant in this island, a place fruitful in itself, and abounding in many good provisions, and a perpetual sharp thorn in the sides of the Spaniard; who received infinite damage from thence; they who were so easily frighted, and beaten, when they were in a great body upon the other island, making afterwards frequent incursions, with small numbers, into it from Jamaica; sacking their towns, and returning with very rich booty. When Venables had put this island into as good order as he could, he returned with Pen into England.

The other fleet under the command of Blake had better success, without any misadventures. After he had reduced those of Algiers, where he anchored in their very mole, to submit to such conditions for the time past, and the time to come, as he thought reasonable, he sailed to Tunis; which he found better fortified and more resolved; for that king returned a very rude answer, contemning his strength, and undervaluing his menaces, and refusing to return either ship or prisoner that had been taken. Whereupon Blake put his fleet in order, and thundered with his great guns upon the town; whilst he sent out several long boats manned with stout mariners, who, at the same time, entered with very notable resolution into their harbours, and set fire to all the ships there, being nine men of war; which were burnt to ashes; and this with the loss only of five and twenty of the English, and about eight and forty hurt, all the boats, with the rest of the men, returning safe to the ships. This was indeed an

action of the highest conduct and courage, and made the name of the English very terrible and formidable in those seas.

The success of both fleets came to Cromwell's notice about the same time, but did not affect him alike. He had never such distempers, (for he had usually a great command over his passions,) as upon the miscarriage at Hispaniola. And as soon as they came on shore, he committed both Pen and Venables to the Tower, and could never be persuaded to trust either of them again; and could not, in a long time, speak temperately of that affair. However, he lost no time in cherishing his infant plantation in Jamaica; which many thought to be at too great a distance, and wished the men might be recalled; but he would not hear of it; and sent presently a good squadron of ships, and a recruit of fifteen hundred men to carry on that work; and resolved nothing more, than to make a continual war from that place upon the Spaniard.

And now the rupture with Spain could be no longer concealed. Therefore he sent orders to Blake, "that he should watch the return of the "Plate-fleet, and do what mischief he could upon "the coast of Spain;" and gave directions to his ships in the Downs to infest those of Flanders, which they had not yet done: what had been hitherto treated privately between him and the cardinal, was now exposed to the light. He now sent Lockhart his ambassador into France; who was received with great solemnity; and was a man of great address in treaty, and had a marvellous credit and power with the cardinal. He made an alliance with France. Cromwell undertook "to

" send over an army of six thousand foot, to be " commanded by their own superior officer, who " was to receive orders only from marshal Tu- " renne:" and when Dunkirk and Mardike should be taken, they were to be put into Cromwell's hands. There were other more secret articles, which will be mentioned.

Flanders had notice of this their new enemy from England, before they heard any thing from Spain, that might better enable them to contend with him; and don Alonzo remained still in London without notice of what was done, till the affair of Jamaica was upon the exchange, and fraternities entered into there for the better carrying on that plantation. Nor was he willing to believe it then, till Cromwell sent to him to leave the kingdom; which he did very unwillingly, when there was no remedy; and was transported into Flanders to increase the jealousies and discontents, which were already too great and uneasy there. The prince of Condé, whose troops and vigour were the preservation and life of that country, was very ill satisfied with the formality and phlegm of the archduke, and with the unactivity and wariness of the conte of Fuensaldagna; who he thought omitted many opportunities.

The archduke was weary of the title of governor of the Low Countries and general of the army, when the power was in truth in Fuensaldagna, and nothing to be done without his approbation; and having, by frequent complaints to Madrid, endeavoured in vain to vindicate his authority, had implored his dismission, and Fuensaldagna himself was as ill satisfied as the other two; and knowing

well the defects of the court, as well as the poverty of Madrid, thought the defence of Flanders consisted most in preserving the army, by being on the defensive part; and therefore, to gratify the coldness of his own constitution, he did by no means approve the frequent enterprises and restless spirit of the prince of Condé; which spent their men: and he thought the great charge in supporting the state and dignity of the archduke was not recompensed by any benefit from his service, besides the irreconcilableness with the archduke, by his having compelled him, by the authority of the king, to dismiss the count of Swassenburgh; whom he loved of all the world; so that he was likewise weary of his post, and desired his deliverance to be sent him from Madrid.

The council there thought it necessary to gratify them both, and to remove both the archduke and the conde; honourably to dismiss the former to return to his own residence in Germany, and to bring don Juan of Austria, the natural son of the king of Spain, who had passed through many employments with reputation, and was at that time general in Italy, to undertake the government of Flanders, with such restrictions as the king of Spain thought fit; and at the same time, that the conde of Fuensaldagna should immediately enter upon the government of Milan; which had been exercised for the last six years by the marquis of Carracena; who was now to govern the army in Flanders under don Juan; and that the marquis, who had the most disadvantage of this promotion, might be better pleased, they gave him such an addition of authority, as could not but breed ill

blood in don Juan; as it fell out afterwards. This council was taken, and to be executed in this conjuncture, when France and Cromwell were ready to enter Flanders with two powerful armies, whilst it was, upon the matter, under no command.

The king was yet at Cologne; and no sooner heard of the war that Cromwell had begun upon Spain, but he concluded that the Spaniard would not be unwilling to enter into some correspondence with him; at least, that their fears were over of offending Cromwell. He therefore sent privately to the archduke, and to Fuensaldagna, to offer them his conjunction. Don Alonzo was likewise there; and the long experience he had in England, and the quality he still held, made his judgment in those affairs most esteemed by them. He, whether upon the conscience of his former behaviour, by which he had disobliged both the late and the present king, or whether, by having lived long in a place where the king's interest was contemned, he did in truth believe that his majesty could bring little advantage to them, had no mind to make a conjunction with him: yet they saw one benefit which they might receive, if his majesty would draw off the Irish from the service of France; which they had reason to believe would be in his power, because he had formerly drawn off some regiments from Spain, whilst he remained in France. So that they were all of opinion, that they would confer with any body the king should authorize to treat with them; which when the king knew, he resolved to go to them himself; and left Cologne, attended only by two or three servants; and when he came near Brussels, sent to advertise the arch-

duke at what distance he was; and "that he would "see him *incognito* in what place, or manner, he "should think fit."

They either were, or seemed to be much troubled that the king was come in person; and desired, that he would by no means come to Brussels; but that he would remain in a little vile dorp about a league from Brussels; where he was vilely accommodated. Thither the conde of Fuensaldagna and don Alonzo came to his majesty; and the archduke met him privately at another place. The king quickly discovered that don Alonzo had a private intrigue with some officers of the English army, who were enemies to Cromwell, upon whose interest he more depended than the king's, and offered it as great merit to his majesty, if he could be able to persuade them to make up a conjunction with the king. This correspondence between don Alonzo and those levellers, was managed by an Irish Jesuit, who, by speaking Spanish, had got himself to be mutually trusted by them. The king pressed them "that he might remove his family to Brussels, "or to some place in Flanders, that it "might be notorious that he was in alliance with his "catholic majesty; and then they should quickly see "he had another kind of interest in England, than "what those men pretended to, upon whom they "ought not to depend; and they would quickly "find, if his majesty resided in that country, "his influence upon the Irish who were in France."

They would by no means consent that his majesty should remain in Brussels, as little at Antwerp, or indeed in any place as taken notice of by the state to be there, "which," they said, "the king of

" Spain's honour would not permit, without shew-
" ing those respects to him that he might live in
" that grandeur as became a great king; which
" the present state of their affairs would not permit
" them to defray the charge of." But they intimated, " that if his majesty would choose to
" remove his family to Bruges, and remain there
" with them, so far *incognito* as not to expect any
" public expensive reception, they were sure he
" would find all respect from the inhabitants of
" that city." The king desired that some treaty might be signed between them; which was committed to the wisdom of don Alonzo; who prepared it in as perfunctory a manner as was possible; by which the king was permitted to reside in Bruges, and nothing on the king of Spain's part undertaken but " that whenever the king could cause a good
" port town in England to declare for him, his
" catholic majesty would assist him with a body of
" six thousand foot, and with such a proportion of
" ammunition, and so many ships to transport that
" body thither;" which was the proposition the levellers had made; and don Alonzo, by making it the contract with the king, thought this way to beget an intelligence between them and the royal party; of the power of which he had no esteem.

The king discerned that what they offered would be of no moment, nor could he make such confident propositions of advantage to Spain, as might warrant him to insist upon large concessions. Besides, it was evident to him, that the affairs in those provinces, which remained under Spain, were in so evil a posture, that, if they should promise any great matters, they would not be able to perform

them. However, all that he desired, was to have the reputation of a treaty between him and the king of Spain; under which he might draw his family from Cologne, and remain in Flanders, which was at a just distance from England, to expect other alterations. So his majesty readily accepted the treaty as it was drawn by don Alonzo; and signed it; and declared that he would reside in the manner they proposed at Bruges. Whereupon, after seven or eight days' stay in that inconvenient manner, the treaty was engrossed and signed by the king, the archduke, and don Alonzo, in April, or the end of March 1657; the despatch of the treaty being hastened by the necessity of the departure of the archduke and the conde of Fuensaldagna; who begun their journey within two or three days after the signing of it: don Juan and the marquis of Carracena being known to be on their way; and both, though not together, within few days' journey of Flanders.

The treaty, as it was signed, was sent by an express into Spain, for the approbation and signature of his catholic majesty. The king with his small train went to Bruges, and lodged in the house of a subject of his own, the lord Taragh, an Irishman; who had been born in that country, and inherited an estate by his mother. There the king stayed, till a handsome accommodation was provided for him in that city, having sent to his brother the duke of Gloucester, who remained yet at Cologne, to come to him, and that his family should all come from thence. So that by the time his majesty had returned again to Brussels, to congratulate don Juan's arrival, and spent three or

four days there, he found himself as well settled at Bruges as he had been at Cologne; where, when his family left it, there was not the least debt remained unsatisfied; which, in the low condition his majesty had been in, and still was, gave reputation to his economy.

As, upon the dissolution of the unruly parliament, Cromwell had sent out his two great fleets, to propagate his fame abroad, presuming that, by the conquest which the one would make in the West Indies, he should have money enough to keep his army in obedience to him, and by the other's destroying or suppressing the Turks of Algiers and Tunis, which were indeed grown formidable to all merchants, he should raise his reputation in Christendom, and become very popular with all the merchants of England; so he did not, in the mean time, neglect to take all the ways he could devise, to provide for his own security at home. Though he had brought the king's party so low, that he had no apprehension of their power to raise an army against him; yet he discerned, that, by breaking their fortunes and estates, he had not at all broken their spirits; and that, by taking so many of their lives, their numbers were not much lessened; and that they would be still ready to throw themselves into any party that should declare against him; to which, he knew, there were enough inclined who were no kinder to the other than himself.

But that which troubled him most, was the distemper in his army; where he knew there were many troops more at the disposal of that party that would destroy him, than at his own. It was once

in his purpose to have drawn over a regiment of Swiss, upon pretence of sending them into Ireland, but in truth with intention to keep them as a guard to his own person; and to that purpose he had sent a person to treat with colonel Balthazer, a man well known in the protestant cantons; but this came to be discovered: so he had not confidence to proceed in it. He resolved therefore upon an expedient, which should provide for all inconveniences, as well amongst the people, as in the army. He constituted, out of the persons who he thought were most devoted to himself, a body of major generals; that is, he assigned to such a single person so many counties, to be under his command as their major general: so that all England was put under the absolute power of twelve men, neither of them having any power in the jurisdiction of another, but every man, in those counties which were committed to his charge, had all that authority which was before scattered among committee-men, justices of peace, and several other officers.

The major general committed to prison what persons he thought fit to suspect; took care to levy all monies which were appointed by the protector and his council to be collected for the public; sequestered all who did not pay their decimation, or such other payments as they were made liable to; and there was no appeal from any of their acts but to the protector himself. They had likewise a martial power, which was to list a body of horse and foot, who were to have such a salary constantly paid, and not to be called upon to serve but upon emergent occasion, and then to attend so many

days at their own charge; and if they stayed longer, they were to be under the same pay with the army, but independent upon the officers thereof, and only to obey their major general. A horseman had eight pounds a year; for which he was to be ready with his horse if he were called upon; if he were not, he might intend his own affairs. By this means he had a second army in view, powerful enough to control the first, if they at any time deserved to be suspected. But he discerned, by degrees, that these new magistrates grew too much in love with their own power; and besides that they carried themselves like so many bassa's with their bands of janizaries, towards the people, and were extremely odious to all parties, they did really affect such an authority as might undermine his own greatness; yet for the present he thought not fit to control them, and seemed less to apprehend them.

When admiral Blake had subdued the Turks of Tunis and Algiers, and betaken himself to the coast of Spain, and by the attempt of Hispaniola and the possession of Jamaica, the war was sufficiently declared against the catholic king, Mountague, a young gentleman of a good family, who had been drawn into the party of Cromwell, and served under him as a colonel in his army with much courage, was sent with an addition of ships to join with Blake, and joined in commission of admiral and general with him; Blake having found himself much indisposed in his health, and having desired that another might be sent to assist him, and to take care of the fleet, if worse should befall him. Upon his arrival with the fleet, they lay long before

Cales in expectation of the [Spanish West] India fleet, and to keep in all ships from going out to give notice of their being there. After some months' attendance, they were at last compelled to remove their station, that they might get fresh water, and some other provisions which they wanted; and so drew off to a convenient bay in Portugal, and left a squadron of ships to watch the Spanish fleet; which, within a very short time after the remove of the English fleet, came upon the coast; and before they were discovered by the commander of the squadron, who was to the leeward, made their way so fast, that when he got up with them, (though he was inferior to them in number,) they rather thought of saving their wealth by flight, than of defending themselves; and so the Spanish admiral run on shore in the bay; and the vice-admiral, in which was the vice-king of Mexico with his wife, and sons, and daughters, was fired by themselves to prevent being taken; in which the poor gentleman himself, his wife, and his eldest daughter, perished: his other daughters, and his two sons, and near one hundred others, were saved by the English; who took the rear-admiral, and two other ships, very richly laden; which, together with the prisoners, were sent into England, the rest escaped into Gibraltar.

The ships which were sent for England arrived at Portsmouth; and though they might with less charge have continued their voyage by sea to London, Cromwell thought it would make more noise, if all the bullion, which was of great value, was landed at Portsmouth; from whence it was brought by land in many carts to London, and

carried through the city to the Tower to be there coined, as it was, within as short a time as it could be despatched; and though it was in itself very considerable, they gave out and reported it to be of much greater value than it was. But the loss to the Spaniard was prodigious; though most of what was in the admiral was saved, and that only: and they saw the English fleet still remaining before them, which was not like to miss the other fleet they shortly after expected, in spite of all advertisements which they were like to be able to send to it.

Cromwell now thought his reputation, both abroad and at home, so good, that he might venture again upon calling of a parliament; and, by their countenance and concurrence, suppress or compose those refractory spirits, which crossed him in all places; and having first made such sheriffs in all counties as he thought would be like to contribute to his designs, by hindering such men to stand against whom he had a prejudice, at least, by not returning them if they should be chosen, and by procuring such persons to be returned as would be most agreeable to him, of which there were choice in all counties; and having prepared all things to this purpose, as well as he could, he sent out his writs to call a parliament to meet at Westminster, upon the seventeenth of September, in the year 1656. When, upon the returns, he found, that though in some places he had succeeded according to his wish, it was in others quite the contrary, and that very many members were returned, who were men of the most notorious malignity against him, he therefore resorted

to his old security, to keep all manner of persons from entering into the house, who did not first subscribe, "that they would act nothing prejudicial "to the government as it was established under a "protector;" which being tendered, many members utterly refused, and returned into their countries, where they were not, for the most part, the worse welcome for insisting upon their privileges, and freedom of parliament.

The major part frankly submitted and subscribed; some of them, that they might have the better opportunity to do mischief. So a speaker was chosen; and at first they proceeded so unanimously, that the protector begun to hope that he had gained his point. With very little or no contradiction, they passed an act of renunciation of any title that Charles Stuart (for so they had long called the king) or any of that family might pretend; and this all men were bound to subscribe. With as little opposition, they passed another, whereby it was made high treason to attempt any thing against the life of the protector. Then they passed several acts for raising money by way of contribution in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in a greater proportion than had ever yet been raised. They granted tonnage and poundage to the protector for his life; and passed several other acts for the raising of monies; amongst them, one for obliging all persons to pay a full year's rent for all buildings which had been erected in and about London, from before the beginning of the troubles; by all which ways, vast sums of money were to be, and afterwards were, exacted and raised. All these acts they presented solemnly to his highness, to be

confirmed by his royal authority; and he as graciously confirmed them all; and told them, "that "as it had been the custom of the chief governors "to acknowledge the care and kindness of the "commons upon such occasions, so he did very "heartily and thankfully acknowledge theirs."

But after all this he was far from being satisfied with the method of their proceeding; for there was nothing done to confirm his personal authority; and notwithstanding all this was done, they might, for aught appeared, remove him from being both protector and general. There had been for some time jealousies between him and Lambert, who had been the principal adviser of the raising those major generals; and being one of them himself, and having the government of the five northern counties committed to him, he desired to improve their authority, and to have it settled by authority of parliament. But Cromwell, on the other hand, was well contented that they should be looked upon as a public grievance, and so taken away, rather upon the desire of parliament, than that it should appear to be out of his own inclination. But, hitherto, neither that design in Lambert, nor the other in Cromwell, nor any difference between them, had broken out.

The protector himself seemed to desire nothing more than to have the authority they had formerly given him, at least, that he had exercised from the time he was protector, confirmed, and ratified by act of parliament. And if it had been so, it had been much greater than any king ever enjoyed. But he had used to speak much, "that it was pity "the nobility should be totally suppressed; and

" that the government would be better, if it passed " another consultation besides that of the house of " commons." In matter of religion, he would often speak, " that there was much of good in the " order of bishops, if the dross were scoured off." He courted very much many of the nobility, and used all devices to dispose them to come to him; and they who did visit him were used with extraordinary respect by him; all which raised an opinion in many, that he did in truth himself affect to be king; which was the more confirmed, when many of those who had nearest relation to him, and were most trusted by him, as soon as the parliament had despatched those acts, which are mentioned before, and that complaints came from all parts against the major generals, inveighed sharply against the temper and composition of the government, as if it was not capable to settle the several distractions, and satisfy the several interests of the nation; and by degrees proposed, in direct terms, " that they " might invest Cromwell with the title, rights, and " dignity of a king; and then he would know, " what he was to do towards the satisfaction of all " parties, and how to govern those who would not " be satisfied."

This proposition found a marvellous concurrence; and very many, who used not to agree in any thing else, were of one mind in this, and would presently vote him king. And it was observed that nobody was forwarder in that acclamation, than some men who had always had the reputation of great fidelity to the king, and to wish his restoration: and it cannot be denied that very many of the king's party were so deceived in

their judgments, as really to believe, that the making Cromwell king for the present, was the best expedient for the restoration of his majesty; and that the army, and the whole nation, would then have been united rather to restore the true, than to admit of a false sovereign, whose hypocrisy and tyranny being now detected, and known, would be the more detested.

But the more sober persons of the king's party, who made less noise, trembled at this overture; and believed that it was the only way, utterly to destroy the king, and to pull up all future hopes of the royal family by the roots. They saw all men even already tired in their hopes; and that which was left of spirit in them, was from the horror they had of the confusion of the present government; that very many, who had sustained the king's quarrel in the beginning, were dead; that the present king, by his long absence out of the kingdom, was known to very few; so that there was too much reason to fear, that much of that affection that appeared under the notion of allegiance to the king, was more directed to the monarchy than to the person; and that if Cromwell were once made king, and so the government run again in the old channel, though those who were in love with a republic would possibly fall from him, he would receive abundant reparation of strength by the access of those who preferred the monarchy, and which probably would reconcile most men of estates to an absolute acquiescence, if not to an entire submission; that the nobility, which being excluded to a man, and deprived of all the rights and privileges due to them by their birthright, and so enemies

irreconcilable to the present government, would, by this alteration, find themselves in their right places, and be glad to adhere to the name of a king, how unlawful a one soever; and there was an act of parliament still in force, that was made in the eleventh year of king Harry the Seventh, which seemed to provide absolute indemnity to such submission. And there was, without doubt, at that time, too much propension in too many of the nobility, to ransom themselves at the charge of their lawful sovereign. And therefore they who made these prudent recollections, used all the ways they could to prevent this design, and to divert any such vote in the house.

On the other side, Lambert, who was the second man in the army, and many other officers of account and interest, besides the country members, opposed this overture with great bitterness and indignation: some of them said directly, "that if, "contrary to their oaths and engagements, and "contrary to the end, for obtaining whereof they "had spent so much blood and treasure, they "must at last return and submit to the old go-"vernment, and live again under a king, they "would choose much rather to obey the true and "lawful heir to the crown, who was descended "from a long succession of kings who had ma-"naged the sceptre over the nation, than to "submit to a person who, at best, was but their "equal, and, raised by themselves from the same "degree of which they all were, and, by the trust "they had reposed in him, had raised himself "above them." That which put an end to the present debate was, (and which was as wonderful

as any thing,) that some of his own family, who had grown up under him, and had their whole dependence upon him, as Desborough, Fleetwood, Whaley, and others, as passionately contradicted the motion, as any of the other officers; and confidently undertook to know, "that himself would "never consent to it; and therefore that it was "very strange that any men should importune the "putting such a question, before they knew that "he would accept it, unless they took this way to "destroy him." Upon this (for which the undertakers received no thanks) the first debate was put off, till farther consideration.

The debate was resumed again the next day, with the same warmth, the same persons still of the same opinion they had been before; most of the officers of the army, as well as they who were the great dependents upon and creatures of Cromwell, as passionately opposed the making him king, as Lambert and the rest did, who looked to be successive protectors after his decease; only it was observed, that they who the day before had undertaken, that he himself would never endure it, (which had especially made the pause at that time,) urged that argument no more; but inveighed still against it as a monstrous thing, and that which would infallibly ruin him. But most of those of his privy council, and others nearest his trust, were as violent and as positive for the declaring him king, and much the major part of the house concurred in the same opinion; and notwithstanding all was said to the contrary, they appointed a committee of six or seven of the most eminent members of the house to wait upon him,

and to inform him of "the very earnest desire of "the house, that he would take upon him the title "of king; and if they should find any aversion in "him, that they should then enlarge in giving him "those reasons, which had been offered in the "house, and which had swayed the house to that "resolution, which they hoped would have the "same influence upon his highness."

He gave them audience in the painted chamber, when they made the bare overture to him, as the desire of his parliament; at which he seemed surprised; and told them, "he wondered how any such "thing came into their minds; that it was neither "fit for them to offer, nor him to receive; that he "was sure they could discover no such ambition in "him, and that his conscience would not give him "leave ever to consent to own that title." They, who were well prepared to expect such an answer, told him, "that they hoped, he would not so sud-"denly give a positive denial to what the parlia-"ment had desired upon so long and mature deli-"beration; that they knew his modesty well, and "that he more affected to deserve the highest "titles than to wear them; that they were ap-"pointed to offer many reasons, which had induced "the house to make this request to him; which "when he had vouchsafed to hear, they hoped the "same impression would be made upon him, that "had been made upon them in the house." He was too desirous to give the parliament all the satisfaction he could with a good conscience, to refuse to hear whatever they thought fit to say to him; and so appointed them another day to

attend him in the same place; which they accordingly did.

When they came to him again, they all successively entertained him with long harangues, setting out "the nature of the English people, and "the nature of the government to which they had "been accustomed, and under which they had "flourished from the time they had been a people: "that though the extreme sufferings they had "undergone by corrupt ministers, under negligent "and tyrannical kings, had transported them to "throw off the government itself, as well as to "inflict justice upon the persons of the offenders; "yet they found by experience, that no other "government would so well fit the nation, as that "to which it had been accustomed: that, not-"withstanding the infinite pains his highness had "taken, and which had been crowned, even with "miraculous success, by the immediate blessing of "divine Providence upon all his actions and all his "counsels, there remained still a restless and un-"quiet spirit in men, that threatened the public "peace and quiet; and that it was most apparent, "by the daily combinations and conspiracies "against the present government, how just and "gentle and mild soever, that the heart of the "nation was devoted to the old form, with which "it was acquainted; and that it was the love of "that, not the affection to the young man who "pretended a title to it, and was known to nobody, "which disposed so many to wish for the return of "it: that the name and title of a protector was "never known to this kingdom, but in the hands

" of a subject, during the reign of an infant sove-
" reign; and therefore, that the laws gave little
" respect to him, but were always executed in the
" name of the king, how young soever, and how
" unfit soever to govern: that whatsoever con-
" cerned the rights of any family, or any personal
" pretence, was well and safely over; the nation
" was united, and of one mind in the rejection
" of the old line; there was no danger of it; but
" nobody could say, that they were of one mind in
" the rejection of the old form of government; to
" which they were still most addicted: therefore,
" they besought him, out of his love and tender-
" ness to the commonwealth, and for the preserva-
" tion of the nation, which had got so much re-
" nown and glory under his conduct, that he would
" take that name and title which had ever presided
" over it, and by which as he could establish a
" firm peace at home, so he would find his fame
" and honour more improved abroad; and that
" those very princes and kings, who, out of ad-
" miration of his virtue and noble actions, had
" contracted a reverence for his person, and an
" impatient desire of his friendship, would look
" upon him with much more veneration, when
" they saw him clothed with the same majesty,
" and as much their equal in title as in merit; and
" would with much more alacrity renew the old
" alliances with England, when they were renewed
" in the old form, and under the old title, which
" would make them durable; since no foreign
" prince could presume to take upon him to judge
" of right of succession; which had been fre-
" quently changed in all kingdoms, not only upon

" the expiration of a line, but upon deprivation " and deposition; in such manner as was most for " the good and benefit of the people; of which " there was a fresh instance in their own eyes, in " the kingdom of Portugal; where the duke of " Braganza, without any other title than the " election of the people, assumed the crown, and " title of king, from the king of Spain; who had " enjoyed it quietly, and without interruption, dur- " ing three descents; and he was acknowledged as " sovereign of that kingdom by the late king; who " received his ambassadors accordingly."

Cromwell heard these and the like arguments with great attention, (and wanted not his approbation to have concurred with them; he thanked them " for the pains they had taken,") " to which " he would not take upon him to give a present " answer; that he would consider of all they had " said to him, and resort to God for counsel; and " then he would send for them, and acquaint them " with his resolution:" and so they parted, all men standing at gaze, and in terrible suspense, according to their several hopes and fears, till they knew what he would determine. All the dispute was now within his own chamber. There is no question the man was in great agony, and in his own mind did heartily desire to be king, and thought it the only way to be safe. And it is confidently believed, that upon some addresses he had formerly made to some principal noblemen of the kingdom, and some friendly expostulations he had by himself, or some friend, with them, why they reserved themselves, and would have no communication or acquaintance with him, the answer from

them all severally (for such discourses could be held but with one at a time) was, "that if he "would make himself king, they should easily "know what they had to do, but they knew no-"thing of the submission and obedience which "they were to pay to a protector;" and that these returns first disposed him to that ambition.

He was not terrified with the opposition that Lambert gave him; whom he now looked upon as a declared and mortal enemy, and one whom he must destroy, that he might not be destroyed by him: nor did he much consider those other officers of the army, who in the house concurred with Lambert, whose interest he did not believe to be great; and if it were, he thought he should quickly reduce them, as soon as Lambert should be disgraced, and his power taken from him. But he trembled at the obstinacy of those who, he knew, loved him; his brother Desborough, and the rest, who depended wholly upon him, and his greatness, and who did not wish his power and authority less absolute than it was. And that these men should, with that virulence, withstand this promotion, grieved him to the heart. He conferred with them severally, and endeavoured, by all the ways he could, to convert them. But they were all inexorable; and told him resolutely, "that "they could do him no good, if they should adhere "to him; and therefore they were resolved for "their own interest to leave him, and do the "utmost they could against him, from the time he "assumed that title."

It was reported, that an officer of name, in the *eclaircissement* upon the subject, told him reso-

lutely and vehemently, "that if ever he took the "title of king upon him, he would kill him." Certain it is that Cromwell was informed, and gave credit to it, "that there were a number of "men, who bound themselves by oath to kill him, "within so many hours after he should accept that "title." They who were very near him said, that in this perplexity he revolved his former dream, or apparition, that had first informed, and promised him the high fortune to which he was already arrived, and which was generally spoken of even from the beginning of the troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such exaltation; and that he then observed, it had only declared, "that he should be the greatest man in England, "and should be near to be king;" which seemed to imply that he should be only near, and never actually attain the crown. Upon the whole matter, after a wonderful distraction of mind, which was manifest in his countenance to all who then saw him, notwithstanding his science in dissimulation, his courage failed him; and after he had spent some days very uneasily, he sent for the committee of parliament to attend him; and, as his looks were marvellously discomposed, and discovered a mind full of trouble and irresolution, so his words were broken and disjointed, without method, and full of pauses; with frequent mention of God and his gracious dispensation, he concluded, "that he could "not, with a good conscience, accept the govern- "ment under the title of a king."

Many were then of opinion, that his genius at that time forsook him, and yielded to the king's spirit, and that his reign was near its expiration;

and that, if his own courage had not failed, he would easily have mastered all opposition; that there were many officers of the army, who would not have left him, who were for kingly government in their own affections; and that the greatest factions in religion rather promised themselves protection from a single person, than from a parliament, or a new numerous council; that the first motion for the making him king was made by one of the most wealthy aldermen of the city of London, and who served then for the city in parliament; which was an argument that that potent body stood well affected to that government, and would have joined with him in the defence of it. Others were as confident, that he did very wisely to decline it; and that, if he had accepted it, he could not have lived many days after. The truth is, the danger was only in some present assassination, and desperate attempt upon his person, not from a revolt of the army from him; which no particular man had interest enough to corrupt. And he might have secured himself probably, for some time, from such an assault by not going abroad; and when such designs are deferred, they are commonly discovered; as appeared afterwards, in many conspiracies against his life.

His interest and power over the army was so great, that he had upon the sudden removed many of those officers who had the greatest names in the factions of religion, as Harrison, Rich, and others; who, as soon as they were removed, and their regiments conferred on others, were found to be of no signification, or influence. And it could have been no hard matter for him, upon very few days' warn-

ing, to have so quartered and modelled his troops, as to have secured him in any enterprise he would undertake. And, it may be, there were more men scandalized at his usurping more than the royal authority, than would have been at his assumption of the royal title too. And therefore they who at that time exercised their thoughts with most sagacity, looked upon that refusal of his as an immediate act of Almighty God towards the king's restoration; and many of the soberest men in the nation confessed, after the king's return, that their dejected spirits were wonderfully raised, and their hopes revived, by that infatuation of his.

But his modesty, or his wisdom, in the refusing that supreme title, seemed not to be attended with the least disadvantage to him. They who had most signally opposed it were so satisfied that the danger they most apprehended was over, that they cared not to cross any thing else that was proposed towards his greatness; which might be their own another day: and they who had carried on the other design, and thereby, as they thought, obliged him, resolved now to give him all the power which they knew he did desire, and leave it to his own time, when with less hesitation he might assume the title too. And so they voted, that he should enjoy the title and authority he had already; which they enlarged in many particulars, beyond what it was by the first instrument of government, by another instrument, which they called the humble petition and advice; in which they granted him not only that authority for his life, but power by his last will and testament, and in the presence of such a number of witnesses, to make choice of, and to

declare his own successor; which power should never be granted to any other protector than himself. And when they had digested and agreed upon this writing, at the passing whereof Lambert chose rather to be absent than oppose it, his parliament sent to him for an audience; which he assigned them on the 25th day of May 1657, in the banqueting house; where their speaker Withrington presented, and read the petition and advice of his parliament, and desired his assent to it.

The contents and substance of it were, "that his "highness Oliver Cromwell should, under the title "of protector, be pleased to execute the office of "chief magistrate over England, Scotland, and "Ireland, and the territories and dominions there-"unto belonging, &c. and to govern according to "all things in that petition and advice: and also, "that he would in his lifetime appoint the person "that should succeed him in the government: that "he would call a parliament consisting of two "houses, once in a year at farthest: that those "persons who are legally chosen by a free election "of the people to serve in parliament, may not be "excluded from doing their duties, but by consent "of that house whereof they are members: that "none but those under the qualifications therein "mentioned, should be capable to serve as mem-"bers in parliament: that the power of the other "house be limited, as therein is prescribed: that "the laws and statutes of the land be observed and "kept; no laws altered, suspended, abrogated, or "repealed, but by new laws made by act of parlia-"ment: that the yearly sum of a million of pounds

" sterling be settled for the maintenance of the navy " and army; and three hundred thousand pounds " for the support of the government; besides other " temporary supplies, as the commons in parliament " shall see the necessities of the nation to require: " that the number of the protector's council shall " not exceed one and twenty; whereof seven shall " be a *quorum:* the chief officers of state, as chan- " cellors, keepers of the great seal, &c. to be ap- " proved by parliament: that his highness would " encourage a godly ministry in these nations; " and that such as do revile and disturb them in " the worship of God, may be punished according " to law; and where laws are defective, new ones " to be made: that the protestant Christian re- " ligion, as it is contained in the Old and New " Testament, be asserted, and held forth for the " public profession of these nations, and no other; " and that a confession of faith be agreed upon, " and recommended to the people of these nations; " and none to be permitted, by words or writing, " to revile or reproach the said confession of " faith."

After this petition and advice was distinctly read to him, after a long pause, and casting up his eyes, and other gestures of perplexity, he signed it; and told them, "that he came not thither that day as " to a day of triumph, but with the most serious " thoughts that ever he had in all his life, being to " undertake one of the greatest burdens that ever " was laid upon the back of any human creature; " so that, without the support of the Almighty, he " must necessarily sink under the weight of it, to " the damage and prejudice of the nation com-

" mitted to his charge: therefore he desired the " help of the parliament, and the help of all those " who feared God, that by their help he might " receive help and assistance from the hand of " God, since nothing but his presence could enable " him to discharge so great a trust." He told them, " that this was but an introduction to the " carrying on of the government of the three " nations; and therefore he recommended the " supply of the rest, that was yet wanting, to the " wisdom of the parliament;" and said, " he could " not doubt, but the same spirit that had led the " parliament to this, would easily suggest the rest " to them; and that nothing should have induced " him to have undertaken this intolerable burden " to flesh and blood, but that he saw it was the " parliament's care to answer those ends for which " they were engaged;" calling God to witness, " that he would not have undergone it, but that " the parliament had determined that it made " clearly for the liberty and interest of the nation, " and preservation of such as fear God; and if the " nation were not thankful to them for their care, " it would fall as a sin on their heads." He concluded with recommending some things to them, " which," he said, " would tend to reformation, by " discountenancing vice and encouraging virtue;" and so dismissed them to return to their house.

But now that they had performed all he could expect from them, he resolved that he would do somewhat for himself; and that all the discourses which had passed of kingship should not pass away in the silence of this address, but that this exaltation should be attended with such a noise and solemnity,

as should make it very little inferior to the other. Therefore, within few days after, he sent a message to the parliament, "that they would adjourn "until such a time as the solemnity of his inau- "guration should be performed;" for the formality whereof they had not provided, nor indeed considered it; as if enough had been done already. For this he appointed the six and twentieth of June; and in the mean time assigned the care to several persons, that all things should be made ready for the magnificence of such a work.

On the day appointed, Westminster hall was prepared, and adorned as sumptuously as it could be for a day of coronation. A throne was erected with a pavilion, and a chair of state under it, to which Cromwell was conducted in an entry, and attendance of his officers, military and civil, with as much state (and the sword carried before him) as can be imagined. When he was sat in his chair of state, and after a short speech, which was but the prologue of that by the speaker of the parliament Withrington, that this promotion might not seem to be without any vote from the nobility, the speaker, with the earl of Warwick, and Whitlock, vested him with a rich purple velvet robe lined with ermines; the speaker enlarging upon the majesty and the integrity of that robe. Then the speaker presented him with a fair Bible of the largest edition, richly bound; then he, in the name of all the people, girded a sword about him; and lastly presented him a sceptre of gold, which he put into his hand, and made him a large discourse of those emblems of government and authority. Upon the close of which, there being little wanting to a per-

fect formal coronation, but a crown and an archbishop, he took his oath, administered to him by the speaker, in these words: "I do, in the pre- "sence, and by the name of Almighty God, promise "and swear, that, to the utmost of my power, I "will uphold and maintain the true reformed pro- "testant Christian religion in the purity thereof, as "it is contained in the holy scriptures of the Old "and New Testament; and to the utmost of my "power, and understanding, encourage the pro- "fession and professors of the same; and that, to "the utmost of my power, I will endeavour, as "chief magistrate of these three nations, the main- "tenance and preserving of the peace and safety, "and just rights and privileges of the people "thereof; and shall in all things, according to "the best of my knowledge and power, govern "the people of these three nations according "to law."

After this there remained nothing but festivals, and proclamations of his power and authority to be made in the city of London, and with all imaginable haste throughout the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; which was done accordingly. And that he might entirely enjoy the sovereignty they had conferred upon him, without any new blasts and disputes, and might be vacant to the despatch of his domestic affairs, which he had modelled, and might have time to consider how to fill his other house with members fit for his purpose, he adjourned his parliament till January next, as having done as much as was necessary for one session. In this vacancy, his greatness seemed to be so much established both at home and

abroad, as if it could never be shaken. He caused all the officers of his army, and all commanders at sea, to subscribe and approve all that the parliament had done, and to promise to observe and defend it.

He sent now for his eldest son Richard; who, till this time, had lived privately in the country upon the fortune his wife had brought him, in an ordinary village in Hampshire; and brought him now to the court, and made him a privy counsellor, and caused him to be chosen chancellor of the university of Oxford. Notwithstanding all which, few people then believed that he intended to name him for his successor; he by his discourses often implying, "that he would name such a successor, "as was in all respects equal to the office:" and so men guessed this or that man, as they thought most like to be so esteemed by him. His second son Harry, who had the reputation of more vigour, he had sent into Ireland, and made him his lieutenant of that kingdom, that he might be sure to have no disturbance from thence.

He had only two daughters unmarried: one of those he gave to the grandson and heir of the earl of Warwick, a man of a great estate, and throughly engaged in the war from the beginning; the other was married to the lord viscount Falconbridge, the owner likewise of a very fair estate in Yorkshire, and descended of a family eminently loyal. There were many reasons to believe, that this young gentleman, being then of about three or four and twenty years of age, of great vigour and ambition, had many good purposes, which he thought that alliance might qualify and enable him to perform.

These marriages were celebrated at Whitehall with all imaginable pomp and lustre; and it was observed, that though the marriages were performed in public view according to the rites and ceremonies then in use, they were presently afterwards in private married by ministers ordained by bishops, and according to the form in the Book of Common Prayer; and this with the privity of Cromwell; who pretended to yield to it in compliance with the importunity and folly of his daughters.

These domestic triumphs were confirmed and improved by the success of his arms abroad. Though the French had no mind to apply those forces upon Dunkirk, which they were obliged, when taken, to put into Cromwell's hands, and so march to other places, which they were to conquer to their own use; in which the six thousand English under the command of Raynolds attended them, and behaved themselves eminently well, and in good discipline; yet his ambassador Lockhart made such lively instances with the cardinal, with complaints of their breach of faith, and some menaces, "that his master knew where to find a "more punctual friend;" that as soon as they had taken Montmedy, [and St. Venant,] the army marched into Flanders; and though the season of the year was too far spent to engage in a siege before Dunkirk, they sat down before Mardike; which was looked upon as the most difficult part of the work; which being reduced, would facilitate the other very much: and that fort they took, and delivered it into the hands of Raynolds, with an obligation, "that they would besiege Dunkirk "the next year, and make it their first attempt."

But that which made a noise indeed, and crowned his successes, was the victory his fleet, under the command of Blake, had obtained over the Spaniard; which, in truth, with all its circumstances, was very wonderful, and will never be forgotten in Spain, and the Canaries. That fleet had rode out all the winter storms before Cales and the coast of Portugal, after they had sent home those former ships which they had taken of the West Indian fleet, and understood by the prisoners, that the other fleet from Peru, which is always much richer than that of Mexico, was undoubtedly at sea, and would be on the coast by the beginning of the spring, if they received not advertisement of the presence of the English fleet; in which case they were most like to stay at the Canaries. The admiral concluded, that, notwithstanding all they had done, or could do to block up Cales, one way or other they would not be without that advertisement; and therefore resolved to sail with the whole fleet to the length of the Canaries, that, if it were possible, they might meet with the galleons before they came thither; and if they should be first got in thither, they would then consider what was to be done.

With this resolution the fleet stood for the Canaries, and about the middle of April came thither; and found that the galleons were got thither before them, and had placed themselves, as they thought, in safety. The smaller ships, being ten in number, lay in a semicircle, moored along the shore; and the six great galleons, (the fleet consisting of sixteen good ships,) which could not come so near the shore, lay with their broadsides

towards the offing. Besides this good posture in which all the ships lay, they were covered with a strong castle well furnished with guns; and there were six or seven small forts, raised in the most advantageous places of the bay, every one of them furnished with six good pieces of cannon; so that they were without the least apprehension of their want of security, or imagination that any men would be so desperate, as to assault them upon such apparent disadvantage.

When the English fleet came to the mouth of the bay of Santa Cruz, and the general saw in what posture the Spaniard lay, he thought it impossible to bring off any of the galleons; however, he resolved to burn them, (which was by many thought to be equally impossible,) and sent captain Stayner with a squadron of the best ships to fall upon the galleons; which he did very resolutely; whilst other frigates entertained the forts, and lesser breastworks, with continual broadsides to hinder their firing. Then the general coming up with the whole fleet, after full four hours' fight, they drove the Spaniards from their ships, and possessed them; yet found that their work was not done; and that it was not only impossible to carry away the ships, which they had taken, but that the wind that had brought them into the bay, and enabled them to conquer the enemy, would not serve to carry them out again; so that they lay exposed to all the cannon from the shore; which thundered upon them. However, they resolved to do what was in their power; and so, discharging their broadsides upon the forts and land, where they did great execution, they set fire to every

'ship, galleons, and others, and burned every one of them; which they had no sooner done, but the wind turned, and carried the whole fleet without loss of one ship out of the bay, and put them safe to sea again.

The whole action was so miraculous, that all men who knew the place, wondered that any sober men, with what courage soever endued, would ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly persuade themselves to believe what they had done; whilst the Spaniards comforted themselves with the belief, that they were devils, and not men, who had destroyed them in such a manner. So much a strong resolution of bold and courageous men can bring to pass, that no resistance and advantage of ground can disappoint them. And it can hardly be imagined, how small loss the English sustained in this unparalleled action; no one ship being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred men, when the slaughter on board the Spanish ships, and on the shore, was incredible.

The fleet after this, having been long abroad, found it necessary to return home. And this was the last service performed by Blake; who sickened in his return, and in the very entrance of the fleet into the sound of Plymouth, expired. He wanted no pomp of funeral when he was dead, Cromwell causing him to be brought up by land to London in all the state that could be; and then, according to the method of that time, to encourage his officers to be killed, that they might be pompously buried, he was, with all the solemnity possible, and at the charge of the public, interred in Harry the Seventh's chapel, among the monuments of the

kings. He was a man of an ordinary extraction; yet had enough left him by his father to give him a good education; which his own inclination disposed him to receive in the university of Oxford; where he took the degree of a master of arts; and was enough versed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profession, having sufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was. He was of a melancholic and a sullen nature, and spent his time most with good fellows, who liked his moroseness, and a freedom he used in inveighing against the license of the time, and the power of the court. They who knew him inwardly, discovered that he had an antimonarchical spirit, when few men thought the government in any danger. When the troubles begun, he quickly declared himself against the king; and having some command in Bristol, when it was first taken by prince Rupert and the marquis of Hertford, being trusted with the command of a little fort upon the line, he refused to give it up, after the governor had signed the articles of surrender, and kept it some hours after the prince was in the town, and killed some of the soldiers; for which the prince resolved to hang him, if some friends had not interposed for him, upon his want of experience in war; and prevailed with him to quit the place by very great importunity, and with much difficulty. He then betook himself wholly to the sea; and quickly made himself signal there. He was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined; and

despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ship and his men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water: and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that drew the copy of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements.

After all this lustre and glory, in which the protector seemed to flourish, the season of the year threatened some tempest and foul weather. January brought the parliament again together. They did not reassemble with the same temper and resignation in which they parted; and it quickly appeared how unsecure new institutions of government are; and when the contrivers of them have provided, as they think, against all mischievous contingencies, they find, that they have unwarily left a gap open to let their destruction in upon them.

Cromwell thought he had sufficiently provided for his own security, and to restrain the insolence of the commons, by having called the other house; which by the petition and advice was to be done; and having filled it, for the most part, with the

officers of the army, and such others as he had good reason to be confident of. So on the twentieth of January, the day appointed to meet, (whereas, before, the parliament used to attend him in the painted chamber, when he had any thing to say to them; now) he came to the house of lords; where his new creations were; then he sent the gentleman usher of the black rod to call the commons to him. And they being conducted to the bar of that house, he being placed in his chair under a cloth of state, begun his speech in the old style, "My lords, and "you, the knights, citizens, and burgesses, of the "house of commons:" and then discoursed some particulars, which he recommended to them; thanked them "for their fair correspondence the "last session;" and assured them, "if they would "continue to prosecute his designs, they should be "called the blessed of the Lord, and generations to "come should bless them."

But as soon as the commons came to their house, they caused the third article of the petition and advice to be read; by which it was provided, that no members legally chosen should be excluded from the performance of their duty, but by consent of that house of which they were members. Upon which, they proceeded to the calling over their house, and readmitted presently all those who had been excluded for refusing to sign that recognition of the protector; and by this means, near two hundred of the most inveterate enemies the protector had, came and sat in the house; among whom were sir Harry Vane, Haslerig, and many other signal men; who had much the more credit and interest in the house, for having been excluded for their

fidelity to the commonwealth; many of those who had subscribed it, valuing themselves for having thereby become instruments to introduce them again, who could never otherwise have come to be readmitted.

As soon as these men came into the house, they begun to question the authority and jurisdiction of the other house; "that it was true, the petition "and advice had admitted there should be such an "house; but that it should be a house of peers, "that they should be called *my lords*, there was "no provision; nor did it appear what juris-"diction it should have: that it would be a very "ridiculous thing, if they should suffer those who "were created by themselves, and sat only by "their vote, to be better men than they, and to "have a negative voice to control their masters." When they had enough vilified them, they questioned the protector's authority to send writs to call them thither: "Who gave him that authority "to make peers? that it had been the proper "business of that house to have provided for all "this; which it is probable they would have done "at this meeting, if he had not presumptuously "taken that sovereign power upon him."

Cromwell was exceedingly surprised and perplexed with this new spirit; and found that he had been shortsighted in not having provided, at the same time, for the filling his house of commons, when he erected his other of peers: for he had taken away those out of that house, who were the boldest speakers, and best able to oppose this torrent, to institute this other house, without supplying those other places by men who could as

well undergo the work of the other. However, he made one effort more; and convened both houses before him; and very magisterially, and in a dialect he had never used before, reprehended them for presuming to question his authority. "The other house," he said, "were lords, and "should be lords;" and commanded them "to "enter upon such business, as might be for the "benefit, not the distraction of the common-"wealth; which he would with God's help pre-"vent." And when he found this animadversion did not reform them, but that they continued in their presumption, and every day improved their reproaches and contempt of him, he went to his house of lords upon the fourth of February; and sending for the commons, after he had used many sharp expressions of indignation, he told them, "that it concerned his interest, as much as the "peace and tranquillity of the nation, to dissolve "that parliament; and therefore he did put an end "to their sitting." So that cloud was, for the present, dissipated, that threatened so great a storm.

The parliament being dissolved, Cromwell found himself at ease to prosecute his other designs. After the taking of Mardike, Raynolds, who was commander in chief of that body of the English in the service of France, endeavouring to give his friends in England a visit, was, together with some other officers who accompanied him, cast away, and drowned at sea; upon which, before the dissolution of the parliament, Lockhart, who was the protector's ambassador in France, was designed to take that charge upon him; and all things, which were to be transported from England, for the

prosecution of the business in Flanders the next spring, were executed with the more care and punctuality, that there might be no room left for the cardinal to imagine, that the protector was in any degree perplexed with the contradiction and ill humour of the parliament.

As soon as he was rid of that, he thought it as necessary to give some instances at home, how little he feared those men who were thought to be so much his rivals in power, and in the opinion of the army, that he durst not disoblige them. And therefore, after some sharp expostulations with Lambert, who was as positive in his own humour, he sent to him for his commission; which he sullenly gave up, when there was a general imagination that he would have refused to have delivered it. So he was deprived of his regiment, his authority in the army, and of being major general in the north, in an instant, without the least appearance of contradiction or murmur, and the officers Cromwell substituted in the several places, found all the obedience that had been paid to the other; and Lambert retired to his garden as unvisited and untaken notice of, as if he had never been in authority; which gave great reputation to the protector, that he was entire master of his army.

He had observed, throughout the parliament, that the major generals were extremely odious to the people, as they had been formidable to him. For, whilst his party were prosecuting to have his authority confirmed to him, and that he might have the title of king conferred upon him, Lambert was as solicitous to have the major generals con-

firmed by parliament, and to have their dependence only upon it; which, with the authority they had of listing men in a readiness, would have made their power, and their strength, in a short time to be equal to the other's. Now that was over, Cromwell was content to continue their names, that they might still be formidable in the counties, but abridged them of all that power which might be inconvenient to himself.

He took likewise an occasion from an accident that happened, to amuse the people with the apprehension of plots at home to facilitate an invasion from abroad; and sending for the lord mayor and aldermen to attend him, he made them a large discourse of the danger they were in of being surprised; "that there was a design to seize upon "the Tower; and at the same time that there "should be a general insurrection in the city of "the cavaliers, and discontented party, whilst the "city remained so secure, that they had put their "militia into no posture to be ready to preserve "themselves in such an attempt; but on the con-"trary, that they were so negligent in their disci-"pline, that the marquis of Ormond had lain "securely in the city full three weeks without "being discovered; who was sent over by the "king to countenance a general insurrection, "whilst the king himself," he said, "had ten "thousand men ready at Bruges, with two and "twenty ships, with which he meant to invade "some other more northern part of the kingdom." He wished them "to lose no time in putting their "militia into a good posture, and to make very "strict searches to discover what strangers were

" harboured within the walls of the city, and to " keep good watches every night." He ordered double guards to be set about the Tower; and that they might see that there was more than ordinary occasion for all this, he caused very many persons of all conditions, most of them such as were reasonably to be suspected to be of the king's party, to be surprised in the night in their beds, (for those circumstances made all that was done to be the more notorious,) and, after some short examination, to be sent to the Tower; and to other prisons; for there was, at the same time, the same severity used in the several counties; for the better explanation and understanding whereof, it will be necessary now that we return to Flanders.

Within little more than two months after the king's coming to Bruges, the little treaty which had been signed by the archduke with the king, was sent ratified from Madrid by the king of Spain, with many great compliments; which the king was willing should be believed to be of extraordinary importance. After wonderful excuses for the lowness of their affairs in all places, which disabled them to perform those services which are due from and to a great king, they let his majesty know, " that the catholic king had assigned so " many crowns as amounted to six thousand gild- " ers, to be paid every month towards a royal aid; " and half so much more, for the support of the " duke of Gloucester; that though the sum was " very small, it was as much as their necessities " would bear; and the smallness should be recom- " pensed by the punctuality of the payment;" the

first payment being to be made about the middle of the next month; without taking notice that the king had been already in that country near three months, during which time he had not received the least present, or assistance towards his support.

They were willing that the king should raise four regiments of foot, which should march with their army, until the king should find the season ripe to make an invasion with that other supply which they were bound by the treaty to give. But for the raising those four regiments, there was not one penny allowed; or any other encouragement, than little quarters to bring their men to; and, after their muster, the common allowance of bread. However, the king was glad of the opportunity to employ and dispose of many officers and soldiers, who flocked to him from the time of his first coming into Flanders. He resolved to raise one regiment of guards, the command whereof he gave to the lord Wentworth, which was to do duty in the army as common men, till his majesty should be in such a posture, that they might be brought about his person. The marquis of Ormond had a regiment in order to be commanded by his lieutenant colonel, that the Irish might be tempted to come over. The earl of Rochester would have a regiment, that such officers and soldiers might resort to, who were desirous to serve under his command: and because the Scots had many officers about the court, who pretended that they could draw many of their countrymen to them; the king gave the fourth regiment to the lord Newburgh, a nobleman of that kingdom, of great courage; who had served his father and himself with very signal

fidelity. Those four regiments were raised with more expedition than can be imagined, upon so little encouragement.

As soon as the treaty was confirmed, in truth, from the time that his majesty came into Flanders, and that he resolved to make as entire a conjunction with the Spaniards as they would permit, he gave notice to the king of France, that he would no longer receive that pension, which, during the time he had remained at Cologne, had been reasonably well paid; but, after his coming into Flanders, he never would receive any part of it.

The Spanish army was at this time before Condé; a place garrisoned by the French between Valenciennes and Cambray; which was invested now by don Juan; who finding that the greatest part of the garrison consisted of Irish, and that there was in it a regiment commanded by Muskery, a nephew of the marquis of Ormond, he thought this a good season to manifest the dependence the Irish had upon the king; and therefore writ to his majesty at Bruges, and desired that he would send the marquis to the camp; which his majesty could not refuse; and the marquis was very willing to go thither; and at the same time the chancellor of the exchequer was sent to Brussels (under pretence of soliciting the payment of the three first months, which were assigned to the king) to confer with don Alonzo de Cardinas upon all such particulars as might be necessary, to adjust some design for the winter upon England; don Juan and the marquis of Carracena referring all things which related to England to don Alonzo, and being very glad that the chancellor went to Brussels, at the

same time that the marquis went to the camp, that so a correspondence between them two might ascertain any thing that should be desired on either side.

Condé was reduced to straits by the time the marquis came thither; who was received with much more civility by don Juan, at least by the marquis of Carracena, than any man who related to the king, or indeed than the king himself. The thing they desired of him was, that when the garrison should be reduced, which was then capitulating, he would prevail with those of the Irish nation, when they marched out, to enter into the Spanish service, that is, as they called it, to serve their own king: for they talked of nothing but going over in the winter into England; especially they desired that his nephew Muskery, who had the reputation of a stout and an excellent officer, as in truth he was, would come over with his regiment, which was much the best, whatever the other would do. After the capitulation was signed, the marquis easily found opportunity to confer with his nephew, and the other officers of the several regiments. When he had informed them of the king's pleasure, and that the entering into the service of the Spaniard was, for the present, necessary in order to the king's service, the other regiments made no scruple of it; and engaged, as soon as they marched out, to go whither they should be directed.

Only Muskery expressly refused that either himself, or any of his men, should leave their colours, till, according to his articles, they should march

into France. He said, "it was not consistent "with his honour to do otherwise." But he declared, "that as soon as he should come into "France, he would leave his regiment in their "quarters; and would himself ride to the court, "and demand his pass; which, by his contract "with the cardinal, was to be given to him, when-"ever his own king should demand his service; "and his regiment should likewise be permitted to "march with him." It was urged to him, "that "it was now in his own power to dispose of him-"self; which he might lawfully do; but that, "when he was found in France, he would no more "have it in his power." He said, "he was bound "to ask his dismission, and the cardinal was bound "to give it: and when he had done his part, he "was very confident the cardinal would not break "his word with him; but if he should, he would "get nothing by it; for he knew his men would "follow him whithersoever he went; and therefore "desired his uncle to satisfy himself; and to assure "the king and don Juan, that he would, within six "weeks, return; and if he might have quarters "assigned him, his regiment should be there with-"in few days after him." It was in vain to press him farther, and the marquis telling don Juan, that he believed he would keep his word, he was contented to part kindly with him; and had a much better esteem of him than of the other officers, who came to him, and brought over their men without any ceremony.

Muskery marched away with the rest of the garrison; and as soon as he was in France, rode to

Paris; where the cardinal then was; who received him with extraordinary grace; but when he asked his dismission, and urged his capitulation, the cardinal, by all imaginable caresses, and promises of a pension, endeavoured to divert him from the inclination; told him, "that this was only to serve the "Spaniard, and not his own king; who had no "employment for him: that if he would stay in "their service till the king had need of him, he "would take care to send him and his regiment "in a better condition to his majesty, than they "were now in." When he could neither by promises nor reproaches divert him from quitting their service, he gave him a pass only for himself; and expressly refused to dismiss the regiment; averring, "that he was not bound to it, because there "could be no pretence that they could serve the "king; who had no use of them, nor wherewithal "to pay them."

Muskery took what he could get, his own pass; and made haste to the place where his regiment was; and after he had given them such directions as he thought necessary, he came away only with two or three servants to Brussels; and desired don Juan to assign him convenient quarters for his regiment; which he very willingly did; and he no sooner gave notice to them whither they should come, but they behaved themselves so, that, by sixes and sevens, his whole regiment, officers and soldiers, to the number of very near eight hundred, came to the place assigned them; and brought their arms with them; which the Spaniard was amazed at; and ever after very much valued him, and took as much care for the preservation

of that regiment, as of any that was in their service.

When the marquis proposed any thing that concerned the king, during the time he was in the army, don Juan still writ to don Alonzo to confer with the chancellor of the exchequer about it; who found don Alonzo in all respects so untractable, and so absolutely governed by the Irish Jesuit, who filled his head with the hopes of the levellers, that, after he had received the money that was assigned to the king, he returned to Bruges, as the marquis did from the army, when the business of Condé was over.

It was well enough known, at least generally believed, from the time that the secret confidence begun between Cromwell and the cardinal, and long before Lockhart appeared there as ambassador, that the cardinal had not only promised, "that the "king should receive no assistance from thence; "but that nobody who related to his service, or "against whom any exception should be taken, "should be permitted to reside in France;" and that, as the king had already been driven thence; so, when the time should be ripe, the duke of York would be likewise necessitated to leave that kingdom. And now, upon the king's coming into Flanders, and upon the coming over of the six thousand English for the service of France, and the publication of the treaty with Cromwell, the French did not much desire to keep that article secret which provided against the king's residing in that kingdom, and for the exclusion of the duke of York, and many other persons, by name, who attended upon the king, and some who had charges

in the army. And the cardinal, and the queen, with some seeming regret, communicated it to the duke, as a thing they could not refuse, and infinitely lamented, with many professions of kindness and everlasting respect; and all this in confidence, and that he might know it some time before it was to be executed by his departure.

Amongst those who by that secret article were to leave the French service, the earl of Bristol was one; whose name was, as was generally believed, put into the article by the cardinal, rather than by Cromwell. For the earl, having received very great obligations from the cardinal, thought his interest greater in the queen than in truth it was, (according to his natural custom of deceiving himself,) and so, in the cardinal's disgrace and retirement, had shewed himself less inclined to his return than he ought to have been; which the cardinal never forgave; yet treated him with the same familiarity as before, (which the earl took for pure friendship,) until the time came for the publishing this treaty, when the earl was lieutenant general of the army in Italy. Then he sent for him; and bewailed the condition that France was in, "which "obliged them to receive commands from Crom- "well, which were very uneasy to them;" then told him, "that he could stay no longer in their "service, and that they must be compelled to "dismiss the duke of York himself;" but made infinite professions of kindness, and "that they "would part with him, as with a man that had "done them great service." The earl, who could always much better bear ill accidents than prevent them, believed that all proceeded from the malice

of Cromwell; and quickly had the image of a better fortune in his fancy than that he was to quit; and so setting his heart upon the getting as good a supply of money from them as he could, and the cardinal desiring to part fairly with him, he received such a present, as enabled him to remove with a handsome equipage in servants and horses. So he came directly for Bruges to the king; to whom he had made himself in some degree gracious before his majesty left Paris. But his business there was only to present his duty to his majesty; where after he had stayed two or three days, he made his journey to the army to offer his service to don Juan, without so much as desiring any recommendation from the king.

There was nothing more known, than that the Spaniard had all imaginable prejudice and hatred against the earl, both for the little kindness he had shewed towards them in England, whilst he was secretary of state, of which don Alonzo was a faithful remembrancer, and for the more than ordinary animosity he had expressed against them from the time that he had been in the French service; which angered them the more, because he had been born in Spain. He had then likewise rendered himself particularly odious to Flanders; where he was proclaimed, and detested in all the rhymes and songs of the country, for the savage outrages his forces had committed by fire and plunder, two years before, when he made a winter incursion with his troops into that country, and committed greater waste than ever the French themselves had done, when the forces were commanded by them. Upon all which, his friends

dissuaded him at Bruges from going to the Spanish army, where he would receive very cold treatment. But he smiled at the advertisement; and told them, "that all the time he was in France, he was "out of his sphere; and that his own genius al- "ways disposed him to Spain; where he was now "resolved to make his fortune." And with this confidence he left Bruges, and went to the army, when it had newly taken Condé; where he found his reception such, both from don Juan and the marquis of Carracena, as he had reason to expect; which did not at all deject him.

He was present when don Juan eat, and when he used to discourse of all things at large; and most willingly of scholastic points, if his confessor, or any other learned person, was present. The earl always interposed in those discourses with an admirable acuteness, which, besides his exactness in the Spanish language, made his parts wondered at by every body; and don Juan begun to be very much pleased with his company; and the more, because he was much given to speculations in astrology; in which he found the earl so much more conversant than any man he had met with, that, within a week after he had first seen him, he desired the earl to compute his nativity. In a word, his presence grew to be very acceptable to don Juan; which when the marquis of Carracena discerned, he likewise treated him with more respect; in which he found likewise his account: for the earl having been lieutenant general of the French army under prince Thomas, in conjunction with the duke of Modena, against Milan, the very year before, when the marquis of Carracena was gover-

nor there, he could both discourse the several transactions there with the marquis, and knew how to take fit occasions, both in his presence and absence, to magnify his conduct in signal actions; which the marquis was very glad to see, and hear, that he did very frequently. And don Alonzo being sent for to the army to consult some affair, though he had all imaginable detestation of the earl, and had prepared as much prejudice towards him in don Juan and the marquis, when he found him in so much favour with both, he treated him likewise with more regard; and was well content to hear himself commended by him for understanding the affairs of England; which he desired don Juan and the marquis should believe him to do. So that before he had been a month in Flanders, he had perfectly reconciled himself to the court, and to the army; and suppressed and diverted all the prejudice that had been against him; and don Juan invited him to spend the winter with him at Brussels.

There was another accident likewise fell out at this time, as if it had been produced by his own stars. The French had yet a garrison at a place called St. Ghislain; which, being within four leagues of Brussels, infested the whole country very much, and even put them into mutiny against the court, that they would think of any other expedition before they had reduced that garrison; which was so strong that they had once attempted it, and were obliged to desist. Half the garrison were Irish, under the command of Schomberg, an officer of the first rank. Some of the officers were nearly allied to sir George Lane, who was

secretary to the marquis of Ormond, and had written to him to know, "whether the giving up "that place would be a service to the king? and "if it would, they would undertake it." The marquis sent his secretary to inform the earl of Bristol of it; who looked upon it as an opportunity sent from heaven to raise his fortune with the Spaniard. He communicated it to don Juan, as a matter in his own disposal, and to be conducted by persons who had a dependence upon him, but yet who intended it only as a service to the king. So now he became intrusted between the king and don Juan; which he had from the beginning contrived to be; don Juan being very glad to find he had so much interest in the king, and the king well pleased that he had such credit with don Juan, of whose assistance in the next winter he thought he should have much use; for all attempts upon England must be in the winter. In a word, this affair of St. Ghislain was very acceptable to the Spaniards; their campaign being ended without any other considerable action than the taking of Condé. They foresaw a very sad year would succeed, if they should enter into the field, where they were sure the French would be early, and leave St. Ghislain behind them; and they should run more hazard if they begun with the siege of that place; and therefore they authorized the earl to promise great rewards in money, and pensions, to those officers and soldiers who would contribute to the reduction of it. The matter was so well carried, that don Juan assembling his army together a little before Christmas, in a very great frost, and coming before the place, though Schom-

berg discovered the conspiracy, and apprehended two or three of the officers, yet the soldiers, which were upon the guards in some outforts, declaring themselves at the same time, and receiving the Spaniards, he was compelled to make conditions, and to give up the place, that he might have liberty to march away with the rest.

This service was of infinite importance to the Spaniard, and of no less detriment to the French, and consequently gave great reputation to the earl; who then came to the king at Bruges; and said all that he thought fit of don Juan to the king, and, amongst the rest, "that don Juan ad-"vised his majesty to send some discreet person "to Madrid, to solicit his affairs there; but that "he did not think the person he had designed to "send thither" (who was sir Harry de Vic, that had been long resident in Brussels) "would be ac-"ceptable there." This was only to introduce another person, who was dear to him, sir Henry Bennet, who had been formerly his servant when he was secretary of state, and bred by him; and was now secretary to the duke of York; but upon the factions that were in that family was so uneasy in his place, that he desired to be in any other post; and was about this time come to the king, as a forerunner to inform him of the duke of York's purpose to be speedily with him, being within few days to take his leave of the court of France. Bennet had been long a person very acceptable to the king; and therefore his majesty readily consented, that he should go to Madrid instead of De Vic: so he returned with the earl to Brussels, that he might be presented, and made known to don

Juan; from whom the earl doubted not to procure particular recommendation.

The time was now come that the duke of York found it necessary to leave Paris, and so came to the king to Bruges; where there were then all the visible hopes of the crown of England together, and all the royal issue of the late king, the princess Henrietta only excepted; for, besides the king and his two brothers, the dukes of York and Gloucester, the princess royal of Orange made that her way from Paris into the Low Countries, and stayed there some days with her brothers.

It was at this time that the king made the chancellor of the exchequer lord chancellor of England, sir Edward Herbert, who was the last lord keeper of the great seal, being lately dead at Paris. Now the king put the seal, which he had till then kept himself, into the hands of the chancellor; which he received very unwillingly: but the king first employed the marquis of Ormond, with whom his majesty knew he had an entire friendship, to dispose him to receive it; which when he could not do, (he giving him many reasons, besides his own unfitness, why there was no need of such an officer, or indeed any use of the great seal till the king should come into England; and, "that his majesty "found some ease in being without such an officer, "that he was not troubled with those suits, which "he would be, if the seal were in the hands of a "proper officer to be used, since every body would "be then importuning the king for the grant of "offices, honours, and lands, which would give "him great vexation to refuse, and he would un-

"dergo as great mischief by granting." The which when the marquis told the king,) his majesty himself went to the chancellor's lodging, and took notice of what the marquis had told him; and said, "he would deal truly and freely with him; that "the principal reason which he had alleged against "receiving the seal, was the greatest reason that "disposed him to confer it upon him." Thereupon he pulled letters out of his pocket, which he received lately from Paris for the grant of several reversions in England of offices, and of lands; one whereof was of the queen's house and lands of Oatlands, to the same man who had purchased it from the State; who would willingly have paid a good sum of money to that person who was to procure such a confirmation of his title; the draught whereof was prepared at London, upon confidence that it would have the seal presently put to it; which being in the king's own hand, none need, as they thought, to be privy to the secret. His majesty told him also of many other importunities, with which he was every day disquieted; and "that he saw no other remedy to "give himself ease, than to put the seal out of his "own keeping, into such hands as would not be "importuned, and would help him to deny." And thereupon he conjured the chancellor to receive that trust, with many gracious promises of his favour and protection. Whereupon the earl of Bristol, and secretary Nicholas, using likewise their persuasions, he submitted to the king's pleasure; who delivered the seal to him in the council, in the Christmas time in the year 1657; which particular is only fit

to be mentioned, because many great affairs, and some alterations accompanied, though not attended upon it.

After so long and so dark a retirement in Cologne, the king's very coming into Flanders raised the spirits of his friends in England. And when they were assured that there was a treaty signed between his majesty and the king of Spain, they made no doubt of an army sufficient to begin the business, and then that the general affections of the kingdom would finish it. The king, who had hitherto restrained his friends from exposing themselves to unnecessary dangers, thought it now fit to encourage them to put themselves into such a posture, that they might be ready to join with him when he appeared; which he hoped the Spaniard would enable him to do in the depth of winter. Several messengers were sent from England to assure him, "that there was so universal a readi-"ness there, that they could hardly be persuaded "to stay to expect the king, but they would begin "the work themselves:" yet they complained much of the backwardness of those who were most trusted by the king, and they again as much inveighed against the rashness and precipitation of the other, "that they would ruin themselves, and all people "who should join with them."

The king was much perplexed to discover this distemper amongst those, who, if they were united, would find the work very hard; and though he preferred in his own opinion the judgment of those that were most wary, yet it concerned him to prevent the other from appearing in an unseasonable engagement; and therefore he sent to them, and

conjured them "to attempt nothing, till he sent "a person to them, who, if they were ready, should "have authority enough to persuade the rest to "a conjunction with them, and should himself "be fit to conduct them in any reasonable en-"terprise."

The marquis of Ormond had frankly offered to the king, "that he would privately go into Eng-"land, and confer with those who were most for-"ward; and if he found, that their counsels were "discreetly laid, he would encourage them, and "unite all the rest to them; and if matters were "not ripe, he would compose them to be quiet;" and there was no man in England affected to the king's service, who would not be readily advised by him. The chancellor would by no means consent to his journey, as an unreasonable adventure upon an improbable design, seeing no ground to imagine they could do any thing. But the marquis exceedingly undervalued any imagination of danger; and it cannot be conceived, with what security all men ventured every day, in the height of Cromwell's jealousy and vigilance, to go into England, and to stay a month in London, and return again. The king consenting to the journey, the chief care was, that the marquis's absence from Bruges might not create jealousy, and discourse, "whither he should "be gone." Therefore it was for some time discoursed, "that the marquis of Ormond was to go "into Germany to the duke of Newburgh," (who was known to have affection for the king,) and, "that he should from thence bring with him two "regiments for the service of his majesty."

These discourses being generally made and be-

lieved, the marquis took his leave publicly of the king, with his servants fit for such a journey, who continued the journey towards Germany; so that the letters from Cologne to all places gave an account of the marquis of Ormond's being there; whilst he himself, with one only servant, and O'Neile, (who had inflamed him very much to that undertaking,) took the way of Holland; and hired a bark at Schevelin; in which they embarked, and were safely landed in Essex; from whence, without any trouble, they got to London, whilst the parliament was still sitting. When he was there, he found opportunity to speak with most of those of any condition upon whose advice and interest the king most depended, and against whose positive advice his majesty would not suffer any thing to be attempted. That which troubled him most was to discover a jealousy, or rather an animosity between many of those who equally wished the king's restoration, to that degree, that they would neither confer nor correspond with each other. They who had the most experience, and were of the greatest reputation with those who would appear when any thing was to be done, but would not expose themselves in meetings or correspondencies before, complained very much of "the rashness of the other, "who believed any officer of the army that pre-"tended discontent, and would presently desire "them to communicate with such persons; which "because they refused, (as they had reason,) the "others loaded them with reproaches, as having "lost all affection and zeal for his majesty's "service:" they protested, "that they could not "discover or believe that there was any such pre-

" parations in readiness, that it could be coun-
" sellable to appear in arms against a government
" so fortified and established, as the protector's
" seemed to be: that it was probable the parlia-
" ment might not comply with Cromwell's desires;
" and then there was such a discovery of malice
" between several persons of potent condition, that
" many advantages might be offered to the king's
" party: if they would have the patience to attend
" the event, and till those factions should be en-
" gaged in blood, they might be sure to advance
" the king's interest in disposing of themselves;
" but if they should engage, before such a time, in
" any insurrection, or by seizing some insignificant
" town, all dissenting parties would be reconciled,
" till the king's friends should all be ruined, though
" they might afterwards return to their old ani-
" mosities." In a word, though they appeared very wary, they declared such a resignation to the king's pleasure, " that, if the marquis were satisfied,
" upon his conference with other men, that the
" time was ripe for their appearance in arms, they
" would presently receive his orders; and do what
" he should require, how unsuccessfully soever."

On the other side, there were many younger men, who, having had no part in the former war, were impatient to shew their courage and affection to the king. And those men, being acquainted with many of the old officers of the late king's army, who saw many of their old soldiers now in Cromwell's army, and found them to talk after their old manner, concluded that they would all appear for the king, as soon as they should see his colours flying. These men talking

together, would often discourse, how easy a thing it would be, with two troops of horse, to beat up such a quarter, or seize such a guard; and then those men consulted how to get those troops, and found men who had listed so many, which would be ready upon call. There were always in these meetings some citizens, who undertook for the affection of the city; and some of these made little doubt of seizing upon the Tower. And truly the putting many gentlemen's sons as apprentices into the city, since the beginning of the troubles, had made a great alteration, at least in the general talk of that people. It was upon this kind of materials, that many honest men did build their hopes, and upon some assurances they had from officers of the army, who were as little to be depended upon.

There was another particular, which had principally contributed to this distemper, which passing from hand to hand had made men impatient to be in arms; which was an opinion, that the king was even ready to land with such an army as would be able to do his business. This had been dispersed by some who had been sent expresses into Flanders; who, though they always lay concealed during the time they waited for their despatches from the king, yet found some friends and acquaintance about the court, or in their way, who thought they did the king good service in making his majesty be thought to be in a good condition; and so filled those people with such discourses, as would make them most welcome when they returned.

When the marquis had taken the full survey of all that was to be depended upon, he conjured the warmer people to be quiet, and not to think of any

action till they should be infallibly sure of the king's being landed, and confirmed the other in their wariness; and being informed that Cromwell knew of his being there, and made many searches for him, he thought it time to return. And so about the time that the parliament was dissolved, he was conducted by Dr. Quatermaine, the king's physician, through Sussex; and there embarked, and safely transported into France; from whence he came into Flanders.

This gave the occasion to Cromwell to make that discourse before mentioned to the mayor and aldermen of London, of the lord marquis of Ormond's having been three weeks in the city; of which he had received perfect intelligence from a hand that was not then in the least degree suspected, nor was then wicked enough to put him into Cromwell's hand; which he could easily have done; of which more shall be said hereafter. But when the protector was well assured that the marquis was out of his reach, which vexed and grieved him exceedingly, he caused all persons, who he knew had, or he thought might have, spoken with him, to be apprehended. All prisons, as well in the country as the city, were filled with those who had been of the king's party, or he believed would be; and he thought this a necessary season to terrify his enemies, of all conditions, within the kingdom, with spectacles which might mortify them.

In the preparations which had been made towards an insurrection, many persons in the country, as well as in the city, had received commissions for regiments of horse and foot; and, amongst the rest, one Mr. Stapley, a gentleman of a good ex-

traction, and a good fortune in the county of Sussex; whose mother had been sister to the earl of Norwich, but his father had been in the number of the blackest offenders, and one of the king's judges. This son of his, who now possessed his estate, had taken great pains to mingle in the company of those who were known to have affection for the king; and, upon all occasions, made professions of a desire, for the expiation of his father's crime, to venture his own life and his fortune for his majesty's restoration; and not only his fortune, but his interest was considerable in that maritime county: so that many thought fit to cherish those inclinations in him, and to encourage him to hope, that his fidelity might deserve to enjoy that estate, which the treason of his father had forfeited.

There was a young gentleman, John Mordaunt, the younger son, and brother, of the earls of Peterborough; who, having been too young to be engaged in the late war, during which time he had his education in France and Italy, was now of age, of parts, and great vigour of mind, and newly married to a young beautiful lady of a very loyal spirit, and notable vivacity of wit and humour, who concurred with him in all honourable dedications of himself. He resolved to embrace all opportunities to serve the king, and to dispose those upon whom he had influence to take the same resolution; and being allied to the marquis of Ormond, he did by him inform his majesty of his resolution, and his readiness to receive any commands from him. This was many months before the marquis's journey into England.

Mr. Stapley was well known to Mr. Mordaunt, who had represented his affections to the king, and how useful he might be towards the possessing some place in Sussex, and his undertaking that he would do so, by a letter to the king under Mr. Stapley's own hand: and thereupon Mr. Mordaunt desired, that his majesty would send a commission for the command of a regiment of horse to him; which he would provide, and cause to be ready against the season he should be required to appear: which commission, with many others, was sent to Mr. Mordaunt; and he delivered it to Mr. Stapley; who was exceedingly pleased with it, renewed all his vows and protestations, and it is still believed that he really meant all he pretended. But he had trusted some servant, who betrayed him; and being thereupon sent for by Cromwell, his father's fast old friend, was by him so cajoled by promises and by threats, that he was not able to withstand him; but believing that he knew already all that he asked him, he concealed nothing that he knew himself; informed him of those of the same country who were to join with him; of whom some had likewise received commissions, as well as himself; and in the end he confessed, "that he had received his "commission from Mr. Mordaunt's own hand." Before this discovery Mr. Mordaunt had been sent for by Cromwell, and very strictly examined, whether he had seen the marquis of Ormond during his late being in London; which, though he had done often, he very confidently and positively denied, being well assured that it could not be proved, and that the marquis himself was in safety: upon which confident denial, he was dismissed to return

to his own lodging. But upon this discovery by Stapley, he was within two days after sent for again, and committed close prisoner to the Tower; and new men were every day sent for, and committed in all quarters of the kingdom; and within some time after, a high court of justice was erected for the trial of the prisoners, the crimes of none being yet discovered; which put all those who knew how liable they themselves were, under a terrible consternation.

Before this high court of justice, of which John Lisle, who gave his vote in the king's blood, and continued an entire confident and instrument of Cromwell's, was president; there were first brought to be tried, John Mordaunt; sir Harry Slingsby, a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of a very ample fortune in Yorkshire; and Dr. Hewet, an eminent preacher in London, and very orthodox, to whose church those of the king's party frequently resorted, and few but those. These three were totally unacquainted with each other; and though every one of them knew enough against himself, they could not accuse one another, if they had been inclined to it. The first and the last could not doubt but that there would be evidence enough against them; and they had found means to correspond so much together, as to resolve that neither of them would plead to the impeachment, but demur to the jurisdiction of the court, and desire to have counsel assigned to argue against it in point of law; they being both sufficiently instructed, how to urge law enough to make it evident that neither of them could be legally tried by that court, and that it was erected contrary to law. The first that

was brought to trial was Mr. Mordaunt. After his arraignment, by which he found that the delivery of the commission to Stapley would be principally insisted on, and which he knew might too easily be proved, he, according to former resolution, refused to plead not-guilty; but insisted, "that by the law of the land he ought not to be "tried by that court;" for which he gave more reasons than they could answer; and then desired, "that his counsel might have liberty to argue the "point in law;" which of course used to be granted in all legal courts. But he was told, "that he was "better to bethink himself; that they were well "satisfied in the legality of their court, and would "not suffer the jurisdiction of it to be disputed; "that the law of England had provided a sentence "for such obstinate persons as refused to be tried "by it; which was, that they should be condemned "as mutes; which would be his case, if he continued refractory:" so he was carried back to the Tower, to consider better what he would do the next day. Sir Harry Slingsby was called next. He knowing nothing of, or for the other resolution, pleaded not-guilty; and so was sent to the prison to be tried in his turn. Dr. Hewet, whose greatest crime was collecting and sending money to the king, besides having given money to some officers, refused to plead, as Mr. Mordaunt had done, and demanded that his counsel might be heard; and received the same answer, and admonition, that the other had done; and was remitted again to prison.

Those courts seldom consisted of fewer than twenty judges; amongst whom there were usually some, who, out of generosity, or for money, were

inclined to do good offices to the prisoners who came before them; at least to communicate such secrets to them, as might inform them what would be most pressed against them. Mr. Mordaunt's lady had, by giving money, procured some in the number to be very propitious to her husband: and in the evening of that day the trial had been begun, she received two very important advices from them. The one, "that she should prevail with her husband to plead; then his friends might do him some service: whereas, if he insisted upon the point of law, he would infallibly suffer, and no man durst speak for him." The other, "that they had no sufficient proof to condemn him upon any particular with which he stood charged, but only for the delivery of the commission to Stapley; and that there was to that point, besides Stapley, one colonel Mallory, whose testimony was more valued than the other's." This Mallory had the reputation of an honest man, and loved Mr. Mordaunt very well, and was one of those who were principally trusted in the business of Sussex, and had been apprehended about the same time that Stapley was; and finding, upon his first examination, by the questions administered to him by Thurlow, that all was discovered, he unwarily confessed all that he knew concerning Mr. Mordaunt; having been himself the person principally employed between him and Stapley. He was brought in custody from the Tower, to give in evidence against Mr. Mordaunt, with an intention in the court, after he had done that good service, to proceed as strictly against himself, though they promised him indemnity.

The lady, having clear information of this whole matter, could not find any way that night to advertise her husband, that he should no more insist upon the want of jurisdiction in the court. For there was no possibility of speaking with, or sending to him, during the time of his trial. Therefore she laid aside the thought of that business till the morning, and passed the night in contriving how Mallory might be prevailed with to make an escape; and was so dexterous, and so fortunate, that a friend of hers disposed the money she gave him so effectually, that the next morning, when Mallory was brought to the hall to be ready to give in his evidence, he found some means to withdraw from his guard, and when he was in the crowd he easily got away.

She had as good fortune likewise to have a little note she writ concerning the other advice, put into her husband's hand, as he passed to the bar; which having perused, he departed from his former resolution; and after he had modestly urged the same again which he had done the day before, to spend time, and the president, in much choler, answering as he had done, he submitted to his trial; and behaved himself with courage; and easily evaded the greatest part of the evidence they had against him; nor could they find proof, what presumption soever there might be, that he had spoken with the marquis of Ormond; and he evaded many other particulars of his correspondence with the king, with notable address. That of the commission of Stapley was reserved to the last; and the commission being produced, and both the hand and the signet generally known, by reason of so many of the like,

which had fallen into their hands at Worcester, and by many other accidents, Mr. Stapley was called to declare where he had it; and seeing himself confronted by Mr. Mordaunt, though he did, after many questions and reproaches from the counsel that prosecuted, at last confess that he did receive it from Mr. Mordaunt; yet he did it in so disorderly and confused a manner, that it appeared he had much rather not have said it; and answered the questions Mr. Mordaunt asked him with that confusion, that his evidence could not be satisfactory to any impartial judges. Then Mallory was called for; but by no search could be found; and they could not, by their own rules, defer their sentence. And it so fell out, [by one of the judges withdrawing upon a sudden fit of the stone,] that the court was divided, one half for the condemning him, and the other half that he was not guilty; whereupon the determination depended upon the single vote of the president; who made some excuses for the justice he was about to do, and acknowledged many obligations to the mother of the prisoner, and, in contemplation thereof, pronounced him innocent for aught appeared to the court. There was not in Cromwell's time the like instance; and scarce any other man escaped the judgment, that was tried before any high court of justice. And he was so offended at it, that, contrary to all the forms used by themselves, he caused him to be kept for some months after in the Tower, (whereas he ought to have been released the same moment,) and would willingly have brought him to be tried again. For, within a day or two

after, Mallory was retaken, and they had likewise corrupted a Frenchman, who had long served him, and was the only servant whom he had made choice of (since he was to be allowed but one) to attend him in the prison: and he had discovered enough to have taken away his life several ways. But the scandal was so great, and the case so unheard of, that any man, discharged upon a public trial, should be again proceeded against upon new evidence for the same offence, that Cromwell himself thought not fit to undergo the reproach of it, but was in the end prevailed with to set him at liberty. And he was very few days at liberty, before he embarked himself as frankly in the king's service as before, and with better success.

Sir Harry Slingsby and poor Dr. Hewet had worse fortune; and their blood was the more thirsted after for the other's indemnity; and the court was too severely reprehended, to commit the same fault again. The former had lain two years in prison in Hull, and was brought now up to the Tower, for fear they might not discover enough of any new plot, to make so many formidable examples, as the present conjuncture required. They had against him evidence enough, (besides his incorrigible fidelity to the crown from the first assaulting it,) that he had contrived, and contracted with some officers of Hull, about the time that the earl of Rochester had been in Yorkshire two years before, for the delivery of one of the block-houses to him for the king's service: nor did he care to defend himself against the accusation; but rather acknowledged and justified his

affection, and owned his loyalty to the king, with very little compliment or ceremony to the present power. The other, Dr. Hewet, receiving no information of Mr. Mordaunt's declining the way formerly resolved upon, (which it was not possible to convey to him in that instant, nobody being suffered to speak with him,) and being brought to the bar as soon as the other was removed from it, persisted in the same resolution, and spoke only against the illegality of the court; which, upon better information, and before the judgment was pronounced against him, he desired to retract, and would have put himself upon his trial: but they then refused to admit him; and so sentence of death was pronounced against them both; which they both underwent with great Christian courage.

Sir Harry Slingsby, as is said before, was in the first rank of the gentlemen of Yorkshire; and was returned to serve as a member in the parliament that continued so many years; where he sat till the troubles begun; and having no relation to or dependence upon the court, he was swayed only by his conscience to detest the violent and undutiful behaviour of that parliament. He was a gentleman of a good understanding, but of a very melancholic nature, and of very few words: and when he could stay no longer with a good conscience in their counsels, in which he never concurred, he went into his country, and joined with the first who took up arms for the king. And when the war was ended, he remained still in his own house, prepared and disposed to run the fortune of the crown in any other attempt: and having a good fortune and a

general reputation, had a greater influence upon the people, than they who talked more and louder; and was known to be irreconcilable to the new government; and therefore was cut off, notwithstanding very great intercession to preserve him. For he was uncle to the lord Falconbridge; who engaged his wife and all his new allies to intercede for him, without effect. When he was brought to die, he spent very little time in discourse; but told them, "he was to die for being an honest man, of "which he was very glad."

Dr. Hewet was born a gentleman, and bred a scholar, and was a divine before the beginning of the troubles. He lived in Oxford, and in the army, till the end of the war, and continued afterwards to preach with great applause in a little church in London; where, by the affection of the parish, he was admitted, since he was enough known to lie notoriously under the brand of malignity. When the lord Falconbridge married Cromwell's daughter (who had used secretly to frequent his church) after the ceremony of the time, he was made choice of to marry them according to the order of the church; which engaged both that lord and lady to use their utmost credit with the protector to preserve his life; but he was inexorable, and desirous that the churchmen, upon whom he looked as his mortal enemies, should see what they were to trust to, if they stood in need of his mercy.

It was then believed that, if he had pleaded, he might have been quitted, since in truth he never had been with the king at Cologne or Bruges; with which he was charged in his impeachment; and

they had blood enough in their power to pour out; for, besides the two before mentioned, to whom they granted the favour to be beheaded, there were three others, colonel Ashton, Stacy, and Betteley, condemned by the same court; who were treated with more severity; and were hanged, drawn, and quartered, with the utmost rigour, in several great streets in the city, to make the deeper impression upon the people, the two last being citizens. But all men appeared so nauseated with blood, and so tired with those abominable spectacles, that Cromwell thought it best to pardon the rest who were condemned, or rather to reprieve them; amongst whom Mallory was one; who was not at liberty till the king's return; and was more troubled for the weakness he had been guilty of, than they were against whom he had trespassed.

Though the king, and all who were faithful to him, were exceedingly afflicted with this bloody proceeding, yet Cromwell did not seem to be the more confirmed in his tyranny. It is true, the king's party was the more dispirited; but Cromwell found another kind of enemy much more dangerous than they, and that knew better how to deal with him in his own way. They who were raised by him, and who had raised him, even almost the whole body of sectaries, anabaptists, independents, quakers, declared an implacable hatred against him; and whilst they contrived how to raise a power to contend with him, they likewise entered into several conspiracies to assassinate him; which he exceedingly apprehended. They sent an address to the king by one of their party, a young gentleman of an honourable extraction, and

great parts, by whom they made many extravagant propositions, and seemed to depend very much upon the death of Cromwell, and thereupon to compute their own power to serve the king; who gave such an answer only to them, as might dispose them to hope for his favour, if he received service from them; and to believe that he did not intend to persecute or trouble any men for their opinions, if their actions were peaceable; which they pretended to affect.

Since the spirit, humour, and language of that people, and, in truth, of that time, cannot be better described and represented, than by that petition and address, which was never published, and of which there remains no copy in any hand, that I know of, but only the original, which was presented to the king, (it being too dangerous a thing for any man who remained in England, to have any such transcript in his custody,) it will not be amiss in this place to insert the petition and address, in the very words in which it was presented to his majesty, with the letter that accompanied it from the gentleman mentioned before, who was an anabaptist of special trust among them, and who came not with the petition, but expected the king's pleasure upon the receipt of it; it being sent by an officer who had served the king in an eminent command, and was now gracious amongst those sectaries without swerving in the least degree from his former principles and integrity; for that people always pretended a just esteem and value of all men who had faithfully adhered to the king, and lived soberly and virtuously. The address was in these words:

To his most excellent majesty, Charles the Second, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.

" The humble address of the subscribers, in " the behalf of themselves, and many thou- " sands more, your majesty's most humble " and faithful subjects.

" May it please your majesty,

" When we sit down and recount the wonderful " and unheard of dispensations of God amongst " us, when we call to our remembrances the tra- " gical actions and transactions of these late times, " when we seriously consider the dark and myste- " rious effects of Providence, the unexpected dis- " appointment of counsels, the strange and strong " convulsions of state, the various and violent " motions and commotions of the people, the many " changings, turnings, and overturnings of go- " vernors and governments, which, in the revolu- " tions of a few years, have been produced in this " land of miracles, we cannot but be even swal- " lowed up in astonishment, and are constrained " to command an unwilling silence upon our some- " times mutinous and over-inquiring hearts, re- " solving all into the good-will and pleasure of " that all-disposing One, whose wisdom is un- " searchable, and whose ways are past finding " out.

" But although it is, and we hope ever will be, " far from us, either peevishly or presumptuously " to kick against the irresistible decrees of Heaven, " or vainly to attempt, by any faint and infirm " designs of ours, to give an interruption to that " overruling divine hand, which steers and guides

" governs and determines the affairs of the whole " world; yet we cannot but judge it a duty highly " incumbent upon us, to endeavour, as much as " in us lies, to repair the breaches of our dear " country. And, since it is our lot (we may say " our unhappiness) to be embarked in a ship- " wrecked commonwealth, (which, like a poor " weatherbeaten pinnace, has, for so long a time, " been tossed upon the waves and billows of fac- " tion, split upon the rocks of violence, and is now " almost quite devoured in the quicksands of am- " bition,) what can we do more worthy of English- " men, as we are by nation, or of Christians, as we " are by profession, than every one of us to put " our hand to an oar, and try if it be the will of " our God, that such weak instruments as we, may " be, in any measure, helpful to bring it at last " into the safe and quiet harbour of justice and " righteousness?

" To this undertaking, though too great for us, " we are apt to think ourselves so much the more " strongly engaged, by how much the more we " are sensible, that as our sins have been the " greatest causes, so our many follies and impru- " dences have not been the least means of giving " both birth and growth to those many miseries " and calamities, which we, together with three " once most flourishing kingdoms, do at this day " sadly groan under.

" It is not, the Lord knows, it is not pleasing " unto us, nor can we believe it will be grateful to " your majesty, that we should recur to the be- " ginnings, rise, and root of the late unhappy dif- " ferences betwixt your royal father and the par- " liament. In such a discourse as this, we may

" seem, perhaps, rather to go about to make the " wounds bleed afresh, than to endeavour the " curing of them: yet forasmuch as we do pro- " fess, that we come not with corrosives but with " balsams, and that our desire is not to hurt but " heal, not to pour vinegar but oil into the " wounds, we hope your majesty will give us leave " to open them gently, that we may apply reme- " dies the more aptly, and discover our own past " errors the more clearly.

" In what posture the affairs of these nations " stood, before the noise of drums and trumpets " disturbed the sweet harmony that was amongst " us, is not unknown to your majesty: that we " were blest with a long peace, and, together with " it, with riches, wealth, plenty, and abundance of " all things, the lovely companions and beautiful " products of peace, must ever be acknowledged " with thankfulness to God, the author of it, and " with a grateful veneration of the memory of " those princes, your father and grandfather, by " the propitious influence of whose care and wis- " dom we thus flourished. But, as it is observed " in natural bodies, idleness and fulness of diet do " for the most part lay the foundation of those " maladies, and secretly nourish those diseases, " which can hardly be expelled by the assistance " of the most skilful physician, and seldom without " the use of the most loathsome medicines, nay " sometimes not without the hazardous trial of the " most dangerous experiments; so did we find it, " by sad experience, to be in this great body " politic. It cannot be denied, but the whole " commonwealth was faint, the whole nation sick,

" the whole body out of order, every member " thereof feeble, and every part thereof languishing. " And in this so general and universal a distemper, " that there should be no weakness nor infirmity, " no unsoundness in the head, cannot well be ima- " gined. We are unwilling to enumerate particu- " lars, the mention whereof would but renew old " griefs; but, in general, we may say, and we " think it will gain the easy assent of all men, that " there were many errors, many defects, many ex- " cesses, many irregularities, many illegal and ec- " centrical proceedings, (some of which were in " matters of the highest and greatest concern- " ments,) manifestly appearing as blots and stains " upon the otherwise good government of the late " king. That these proceeded from the pravity of " his own disposition, or from principles of ty- " ranny radicated and implanted in his own na- " ture, we do not see how it can be asserted, " without apparent injury to the truth; it being " confessed, even by his most peevish enemies, " that he was a gentleman, as of the most strong " and perfect intellectuals, so of the best and " purest morals, of any prince that ever swayed " the English sceptre. This the then parliament " being sensible of, and desirous, out of a zeal " they had to the honour of their sovereign, to " disperse and dispel those black clouds that were " contracted about him, that he might shine the " more glorious in the beauty of his own lustre, " thought themselves engaged in duty to endea- " vour to redeem and rescue him from the violent " and strong impulses of his evil counsellors; who " did captivate him at their pleasures to their own

" corrupt lusts, and did every day thrust him into
" actions prejudicial to himself, and destructive to
" the common good and safety of the people.

" Upon this account, and to this, and no other
" end, were we at first invited to take up arms;
" and though we have too great cause to conclude
" from what we have since seen acted, that, under
" those plausible and gilded pretences of liberty
" and reformation, there were secretly managed
" the hellish designs of wicked, vile, and ambitious
" persons, (whom though then, and for a long
" time after, concealed, Providence, and the series
" of things, have since discovered to us,) yet we
" bless God, that we went out in the simplicity of
" our souls, aiming at nothing more but what was
" publicly owned in the face of the sun; and that
" we were so far from entertaining any thoughts of
" casting off our allegiance to his majesty, or
" extirpating his family, that we had not the least
" intentions of so much as abridging him of any of
" his just prerogatives, but only of restraining
" those excesses of government for the future,
" which were nothing but the excrescences of a
" wanton power, and were more truly to be ac-
" counted the burdens, than ornaments, of his
" royal diadem.

" These things, sir, we are bold to make recital
" of to your majesty; not that we suppose your
" majesty to be ignorant of them, or that we take
" delight to derive the pedigree of our own and
" the nation's misfortunes; but, like poor wildered
" travellers, perceiving that we have lost our way,
" we are necessitated, though with tired and irk-
" some steps, thus to walk the same ground over

" again, that we may discover where it was that
" we first turned aside, and may institute a more
" prosperous course in the progress of our journey.
" Thus far we can say we have gone right, keeping
" the road of honesty and sincerity, and having as
" yet done nothing but what we think we are able
" to justify, not by those weak and beggarly argu-
" ments, drawn either from success, which is the
" same to the just and to the unjust, or from the
" silence and satisfaction of a becalmed conscience,
" which is more often the effect of blindness than
" virtue, but from the sure, safe, sound, and uner-
" ring maxims of law, justice, reason, and right-
" eousness.

" In all the rest of our motions ever since to
" this very day, we must confess, we have been
" wandering, deviating, and roving up and down,
" this way and that way, through all the dangerous,
" uncouth, and untrodden paths of fanatic and en-
" thusiastic notions, till now at last, but too late,
" we find ourselves intricated and involved in so
" many windings, labyrinths, and meanders of
" knavery, that nothing but a divine clue of thread
" handed to us from heaven, can be sufficient to
" extricate us, and restore us. We know not, we
" know not whether we have juster matter of shame
" or sorrow administered to us, when we take a
" reflex view of our past actions, and consider into
" the commission of what crimes, impieties, wicked-
" nesses, and unheard of villanies, we have been
" led, cheated, cozened, and betrayed, by that
" grand impostor, that loathsome hypocrite, that
" detestable traitor, that prodigy of nature, that
" *opprobrium* of mankind, that landscape of iniquity,

" that sink of sin, and that compendium of base-
" ness, who now calls himself our protector. What
" have we done, nay, what have we not done,
" which either hellish policy was able to contrive,
" or brutish power to execute? We have trampled
" underfoot all authorities; we have laid violent
" hands upon our own sovereign; we have ra-
" vished our parliaments; we have defloured the
" virgin liberty of our nation; we have put a
" yoke, an heavy yoke of iron, upon the necks of
" our own countrymen; we have thrown down the
" walls and bulwarks of the people's safety; we
" have broken often-repeated oaths, vows, engage-
" ments, covenants, protestations; we have be-
" trayed our trusts; we have violated our faiths;
" we have lifted up our hands to heaven deceit-
" fully; and that these our sins might want no
" aggravation to make them exceeding sinful, we
" have added hypocrisy to them all; and have not
" only, like the audacious strumpet, wiped our
" mouths, and boasted *that we have done no evil;*
" but in the midst of all our abominations (such as
" are too bad to be named amongst the worst of
" heathens) we have not wanted impudence enough
" to say, Let the Lord be glorified: let Jesus Christ
" be exalted: let his kingdom be advanced: let
" the gospel be propagated: let the saints be dig-
" nified: let righteousness be established: *Pudet*
" *hæc opprobria nobis aut dici potuisse, aut non po-*
" *tuisse refelli.*

" Will not the holy One of Israel visit? will not
" the righteous One punish? will not he, who is
" the true and faithful One, be avenged for such
" things as these? will he not, nay has he not

" already, come forth as a swift witness against
" us? has he not whet his sword? has he not bent
" his bow? has he not prepared his quiver? has
" he not already begun to shoot his arrows at us?
" Who is so blind as not to see that the hand of the
" Almighty is upon us, and that his anger waxes
" hotter and hotter against us? How have our
" hopes been blasted! how have our expectations
" been disappointed! how have our ends been
" frustrated! All those pleasant gourds, under
" which we were sometimes solacing and caressing
" ourselves, how are they perished in a moment!
" how are they withered in a night! how are they
" vanished, and come to nothing! Righteous is
" the Lord, and righteous are all his judgments.
" We have sown the wind, and we have reaped a
" whirlwind; we have sown faction, and we have
" reaped confusion; we have sown folly, and we
" have reaped deceit: when we looked for liberty,
" behold slavery; when we expected righteousness,
" behold oppression; when we sought for justice,
" behold a cry, a great and a lamentable cry
" throughout the whole nation.

" Every man's hand is upon his loins, every one
" complaining, sighing, mourning, lamenting, and
" saying, I am pained, I am pained, pain and an-
" guish, and sorrow, and perplexity of spirit, has
" taken hold upon me, like the pains of a woman
" in travail. Surely we may take up the lamenta-
" tion of the prophet concerning this the land of
" our nativity. How does England sit solitary!
" how is she become as a widow! she, that was
" great amongst the nations, and princess among
" the provinces, how is she now become tributary!

"She weepeth sore in the night; her tears are on "her cheeks; amongst all her lovers she hath "none to comfort her; all her friends have dealt "treacherously with her, they are become her "enemies; she lifteth up her voice in the streets, "she crieth aloud in the gates of the city, in the "places of chief concourse, she sitteth, and thus "we hear her wailing and bemoaning her condi- "tion; Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? "behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto "my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith "the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce "anger. The yoke of my transgressions is bound "by his hands; they are wreathed, and come up "upon my neck; he hath made my strength to "fall, the Lord hath delivered me into their hands "from whom I am not able to rise up. The Lord "hath trodden underfoot all my mighty men in "the midst of me; he hath called an assembly to "crush my young men; he hath trodden me as in "a winepress; all that pass by clap their hands "at me, they hiss and wag their heads at me, say- "ing, Is this the nation that men call the perfec- "tion of beauty? the joy of the whole earth? All "mine enemies have opened their mouths against "me; they hiss and gnash their teeth; they say, "We have swallowed her up; certainly this is the "day that we looked for, we have found, we have "seen it.

"How are our bowels troubled! how are our "hearts saddened! how are our souls afflicted, "whilst we hear the groans, whilst we see the "desolation of our dear country! It pitieth us, "it pitieth us, that Sion should lie any longer in

" the dust. But, alas! what shall we do for her " in this day of her great calamity? We were " sometimes wise to pull down, but we now " want art to build; we were ingenious to pluck " up, but we have no skill to plant; we were " strong to destroy, but we are weak to restore: " whither shall we go for help? or to whom shall " we address ourselves for relief? If we say, We " will have recourse to parliaments, and they shall " save us; behold, they are broken reeds, reeds " shaken with the wind. They cannot save them- " selves. If we turn to the army, and say, They " are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, it " may be they will at last have pity upon us, and " deliver us; behold, they are become as a rod of " iron to bruise us, rather than a staff of strength " to support us. If we go to him who had trea- " cherously usurped, and does tyrannically exercise " an unjust power over us, and say to him, Free " us from this yoke, for it oppresseth us, and from " these burdens, for they are heavier than either " we are, or our fathers ever were, able to bear; " behold, in the pride and haughtiness of his " spirit, he answers us, You are factious, you are " factious; if your burdens are heavy, I will make " them yet heavier; if I have hitherto chastised " you with whips, I will henceforward chastise you " with scorpions.

" Thus do we fly, like partridges hunted, from " hill to hill, and from mountain to mountain, but " can find no rest; we look this way, and that " way, but there is none to save, none to deliver. " At last we begun to whisper, and but to whisper " only, among ourselves, saying one to another,

" Why should we not return to our first husband?
" Surely it will be better with us then, than it is
" now. At the first starting of this question
" amongst us, many doubts, many fears, many
" jealousies, many suspicions did arise within us.
" We were conscious to ourselves, that we had
" dealt unkindly with him, that we had treacher-
" ously forsaken him, that we had defiled ourselves
" with other lovers, and that our filthiness was
" still upon our skirts: therefore were we apt to
" conclude, if we do return unto him, how can
" he receive us? or if he does receive us, how
" can he love us? how can he pardon the injuries
" we have done unto him? how can he forget the
" unkindness we have shewn unto him in the day
" of his distress?

" We must confess (for we come not to deceive
" your majesty, but to speak the truth in simpli-
" city) that these cowardly apprehensions did, for
" a while, make some strong impressions upon us;
" and had almost frighted us out of our newly
" conceived thoughts of duty and loyalty. But it
" was not long before they vanished, and gave
" place to the more noble and heroic considera-
" tions of common good, public safety, the honour,
" peace, welfare, and prosperity of these nations;
" all which we are persuaded, and do find, though
" by too late experience, are as inseparably and as
" naturally bound up in your majesty, as heat in
" fire, or light in the sun. Contemning therefore
" and disdaining the mean and low thoughts of
" our own private safety, (which we have no cause
" to despair of, having to deal with so good and so
" gracious a prince,) we durst not allow of any

" longer debate about matters of personal concern-
" ment; but did think ourselves engaged in duty,
" honour, and conscience, to make this our humble
" address unto your majesty, and to leave ourselves
" at the feet of your mercy: yet, lest we should
" seem to be altogether negligent of that first good,
" though since dishonoured, cause, which God has
" so eminently owned us in, and to be unmindful
" of the security of those, who, together with our-
" selves, being carried away with the delusive and
" hypocritical pretences of wicked and ungodly
" men, have ignorantly, not maliciously, been
" drawn into a concurrence with those actions
" which may render them justly obnoxious to your
" majesty's indignation, we have presumed in all
" humility to offer unto your majesty these few
" propositions hereunto annexed; to which if your
" majesty shall be pleased graciously to conde-
" scend, we do solemnly protest in the presence of
" Almighty God, before whose tribunal we know
" we must one day appear, that we will hazard our
" lives, and all that is dear unto us, for the restor-
" ing and reestablishing your majesty in the throne
" of your father; and that we will never be wanting
" in a ready and willing compliance to your ma-
" jesty's commands to approve ourselves

" Your majesty's

" most humble, most faithful,

" and most devoted subjects and servants,

" *W. Howard.*	*John Wildman.*
" *Ralph Jennings.*	*John Aumigeu.*
" *Edw. Penkaruan.*	*Randolph Hedworth.*
" *John Hedworth.*	*Thomas*
" *John Sturgion.*	*Rich. Reynolds.*

" The earnest desires of the subscribers, in all
" humility presented to your majesty in these
" following proposals, in order to an happy,
" speedy, and well grounded peace in these
" your majesty's dominions.

1. " Forasmuch as the parliament, called and " convened by the authority of his late majesty " your royal father, in the year 1640, was never " legally dissolved, but did continue their sitting " until the year 1648, at which time the army, " violently and treasonably breaking in upon them, " did, and has ever since given a continued inter- " ruption to their session, by taking away the " whole house of lords, and secluding the greatest " part of the house of commons, it is therefore " humbly desired that (to the end we may be esta- " blished upon the ancient basis and foundation " of law) your majesty would be pleased, by public " proclamations, as soon as it shall be judged sea- " sonable, to invite all those persons, as well lords " as commons, who were then sitting, to return to " their places; and that your majesty would own " them (so convened and met together) to be the " true and lawful parliament of England.

2. " That your majesty would concur with the " parliament in the ratification and confirmation of " all those things granted and agreed unto by the " late king your father, at the last and fatal treaty " in the Isle of Wight; as also in the making and " repealing of all such laws, acts, and statutes, as " by the parliament shall be judged expedient and " necessary to be made, and repealed, for the " better securing of the just and natural rights

" and liberties of the people, and for the obviating " and preventing all dangerous and destructive ex- " cesses of government for the future.

3. " Forasmuch as it cannot be denied, but that " our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by his death " and resurrection, has purchased the liberties of " his own people, and is thereby become their sole " Lord and King, to whom, and to whom only, " they owe obedience in things spiritual; we do " therefore humbly beseech your majesty, that you " would engage your royal word never to erect, " nor suffer to be erected, any such tyrannical, " popish, and Antichristian hierarchy, (episcopal, " presbyterian, or by what name soever it be " called,) as shall assume a power over, or impose " a yoke upon, the consciences of others; but that " every one of your majesty's subjects may here- " after be left at liberty to worship God in such a " way, form, and manner, as shall appear to them " to be agreeable to the mind and will of Christ, " revealed in his word, according to that proportion " or measure of faith and knowledge which they " have received.

4. " Forasmuch as the exaction of tithes is a " burden under which the whole nation groans in " general, and the people of God in particular, we " would therefore crave leave humbly to offer it to " your majesty's consideration, that, if it be possi- " ble, some other way may be found out for the " maintenance of that which is called the national " ministry; and that those of the separated and " congregated churches may not (as hitherto they " have been, and still are) be compelled to contri- " bute thereunto.

5. "Forasmuch as in these times of license, "confusion, and disorder, many honest, godly, and "religious persons, by the crafty devices and cun- "ning pretences of wicked men, have been igno- "rantly and blindly led, either into the commission "of, or compliance with, many vile, illegal, and abo- "minable actions, whereof they are now ashamed; "we do therefore most humbly implore your ma- "jesty, that an act of amnesty and oblivion may "be granted for the pardoning, acquitting, and "discharging all your majesty's long deceived and "deluded subjects, from the guilt and imputation "of all crimes, treasons, and offences whatsoever, "committed or done by them, or any of them, "either against your majesty's father, or yourself, "since the beginning of these unhappy wars, ex- "cepting only such who do adhere to that ugly "tyrant who calls himself protector, or who, in "justification of his or any other interest, shall, "after the publication of this act of grace, con- "tinue and persevere in their disloyalty to your "majesty."

The gentleman who brought this address, and these wild propositions, brought likewise with him a particular letter to the king from the gentleman that is before described; upon whose temper, ingenuity, and interest, the messenger principally depended, having had much acquaintance and conversation with him; who, though he was an anabaptist, made himself merry with the extravagancy and madness of his companions; and told this gentleman, "that, though the first address "could not be prepared but with those demands,

" which might satisfy the whole party, and com-
" prehend all that was desired by any of them, yet
" if the king gave them such an encouragement, as
" might dispose them to send some of the wisest
" of them to attend his majesty, he would be able,
" upon conference with them, to make them his
" instruments to reduce the rest to more moderate
" desires, when they should discern, that they
" might have more protection and security from
" the king, than from any other power that would
" assume the government." The letter was as followeth.

" May it please your majesty,

" Time, the great discoverer of all things, has
" at last unmasked the disguised designs of this
" mysterious age, and made that obvious to the
" dull sense of fools, which was before visible
" enough to the quicksighted prudence of wise
" men, viz. that liberty, religion, and reformation,
" the wonted engines of politicians, are but deceit-
" ful baits, by which the easily deluded multitude
" are tempted to a greedy pursuit of their own
" ruin. In the unhappy number of these fools, I
" must confess myself to have been one; who
" have nothing more now to boast of, but only
" that, as I was not the first was cheated, so I was
" not the last was undeceived; having long since,
" by peeping a little (now and then, as I had
" opportunity) under the vizard of the impostor,
" got such glimpses, though but imperfect ones, of
" his ugly face, concealed under the painted pre-
" tences of sanctity, as made me conclude, that
" the series of affairs, and the revolution of a few

" years, would convince this blinded generation of " their errors; and make them affrightedly to " start from him, as a prodigious piece of defor- " mity, whom they adored and reverenced as the " beautiful image of a deity.

" Nor did this my expectation fail me: God, " who glories in no attribute more than to be " acknowledged the searcher of the inward parts, " could no longer endure the bold affronts of this " audacious hypocrite; but, to the astonishment " and confusion of all his idolatrous worshippers, " has, by the unsearchable wisdom of his deeplaid " counsels, lighted such a candle into the dark " dungeon of his soul, that there is none so blind " who does not plainly read treachery, tyranny, " perfidiousness, dissimulation, atheism, hypocrisy, " and all manner of villainy, written in large cha- " racters on his heart; nor is there any one " remaining, who dares open his mouth in justifi- " cation of him, for fear of incurring the deserved " character of being a professed advocate for all " wickedness, and a sworn enemy to all virtue.

" This was no sooner brought forth, but pre- " sently I conceived hopes of being able, in a short " time, to put in practice those thoughts of loyalty " to your majesty, which had long had entertain- " ment in my breast, but till now were forced to " seek concealment under a seeming conformity to " the iniquity of the times. A fit opportunity of " giving birth to these designs was happily admi- " nistered by the following occasion.

" Great was the rage, and just the indignation " of the people, when they first found the authority " of their parliament swallowed up in the new

" name of a protector; greater was their fury, and " upon better grounds, when they observed, that " under the silent, modest, and flattering title of " this protector, was secretly assumed a power " more absolute, more arbitrary, more unlimited, " than ever was pretended to by any king. The " pulpits straightways sound with declamations, " the streets are filled with pasquils and libels, " every one expresses a detestation of this innova- " tion by public invectives, and all the nation, with " one accord, seems at once to be inspired with one " and the same resolution of endeavouring valiantly " to redeem that liberty, by arms and force, which " was treacherously stolen from them by deceit " and fraud.

" When they had for a while exercised them- " selves in tumultuary discourses, (the first effects " of popular discontents,) at length they begin to " contrive by what means to free themselves from " the yoke that is upon them. In order hereunto, " several of the chiefest of the malecontents enter " into consultations amongst themselves; to which " they were pleased to invite and admit me. Being " taken into their councils, and made privy to their " debates, I thought it my work to acquaint myself " fully with the tempers, inclinations, dispositions, " and principles of them; which (though all meet- " ing and concentring in an irreconcilable hatred " and animosity against the usurper) I find so " various in their ends, and so contrary in the " means conducing to those ends, that they do " naturally fall under the distinction of different " parties. Some, drunk with enthusiasms, and " besotted with fanatic notions, do allow of none

" to have a share in government besides the " saints; and these are called Christian royalists, " or fifth-monarchy-men. Others violently oppos- " ing this, as destructive to the liberty of the " free-born people, strongly contend to have the " nation governed by a continual succession of " parliaments, consisting of equal representatives; " and these style themselves commonwealth's- " men. A third party there is, who finding, by " the observation of these times, that parliaments " are better physic than food, seem to incline most " to monarchy, if laid under such restrictions as " might free the people from the fear of tyranny; " and these are contented to suffer under the " opprobrious name of levellers: to these did I " particularly apply myself; and after some few " days' conference with them in private by them- " selves apart, I was so happy in my endeavours, " as to prevail with some of them to lay aside " those vain and idle prejudices, grounded rather " upon passion than judgment, and return, as their " duty engaged them, to their obedience to your " majesty. Having proceeded thus far, and gained " as many of the chief of them, whom I knew to " be leaders of the rest, as could safely be intrusted " with a business of this nature, (the success " whereof does principally depend upon the secret " management of it,) I thought I had nothing " more now to do, but only to confirm and esta- " blish them, as well as I could, in their infant " allegiance, by engaging them so far in an humble " address unto your majesty, that they might not " know how to make either a safe or honourable " retreat.

" I must leave it to the ingenuity of this worthy " gentleman, by whose hands it is conveyed, to " make answer to any such objections as may " perhaps be made by your majesty, either as to " the matter or manner of it. This only I would " put your majesty in mind of, that they are but " young proselytes, and are to be driven *lento pede*, " lest, being urged at first too violently, they " should resist the more refractorily.

" As to the quality of the persons, I cannot say " they are either of great families, or great estates. " But this I am confident of, that, whether it be by " their own virtue, or by the misfortune of the " times, I will not determine, they are such who " may be more serviceable to your majesty in this " conjuncture, than those whose names swell much " bigger than theirs with the addition of great " titles. I durst not undertake to persuade your " majesty to any thing, being ignorant by what " maxims your counsels are governed; but this " I shall crave leave to say, that I have often " observed, that a desperate game at chess has " been recovered after the loss of the nobility, only " by playing the pawns well; and that the sub- " scribers may not be of the same use to your " majesty, if well managed, I cannot despair, espe- " cially at such a time as this, when there is scarce " any thing but pawns left upon the board, and " those few others that are left may justly be " complained of in the words of Tacitus, *præsentia* " *et tuta, quam vetera et periculosa, malunt omnes.*

" I have many things more to offer unto your " majesty, but fearing I have already given too " bold a trouble, I shall defer the mention of them

" at present; intending, as soon as I hear how " your majesty resents this overture, to wait upon " your majesty in person, and then to communi- " cate that *viva voce*, which I cannot bring within " the narrow compass of an address of this nature. " In the mean time, if our services shall be judged " useful to your majesty, I shall humbly desire " some speedy course may be taken for the ad- " vance of two thousand pound, as well for the " answering the expectation of those whom I have " already engaged, as for the defraying of several " other necessary expenses, which do, and will " every day inevitably come upon us in the prose- " cution of our design.

" What more is expedient to be done by your " majesty, in order to the encouragement and " satisfaction of those gentlemen who already are, " or hereafter may be, brought over to the assist- " ance of your majesty's cause and interest, I shall " commit to the care of this honourable person; " who being no stranger to the complexion and " constitution of those with whom I have to deal, " is able sufficiently to inform your majesty by " what ways and means they may be laid under " the strongest obligations to your majesty's ser- " vice.

" For my own part, as I do now aim at nothing " more, than only to give your majesty a small " essay of my zeal for, and absolute devotion to, " your majesty, so I have nothing more to beg of " your majesty, but that you would be pleased to " account me,

" May it please your majesty, &c."

The king believed that these distempers might, in some conjuncture, be of use to him; and therefore returned the general answer that is mentioned before; and, "that he would be willing to confer "with some persons of that party, trusted by the "rest, if they would come over to him;" his majesty being then at Bruges. Upon which that young gentleman came over thither to him, and remained some days there concealed. He was a person of very extraordinary parts, sharpness of wit, readiness and volubility of tongue, but an anabaptist. He had been bred in the university of Cambridge, and afterwards in the inns of court; but being too young to have known the religion or the government of the precedent time, and his father having been engaged from the beginning against the king, he had sucked in the opinions that were most prevalent, and had been a soldier in Cromwell's life-guard of horse, when he was thought to be most resolved to establish a republic. But when that mask was pulled off, he detested him with that rage, that he was of the combination with those who resolved to destroy him by what way soever; and was very intimate with Syndercome. He had a great confidence of the strength and power of that party; and confessed that their demands were extravagant, and such as the king could not grant; which, after they were once engaged in blood, he doubted not they would recede from, by the credit the wiser men had amongst them. He returned into England, very well satisfied with the king; and did afterwards correspond very faithfully with his professions; but left the king without any hope

of other benefit from that party, than by their increasing the faction and animosity against Cromwell: for it was manifest they expected a good sum of present money from the king; which could not be in his power to supply.

While these things were transacting, the king found every day, that the Spaniards so much despaired of his cause, that they had no mind to give him any assistance with which he might make an attempt upon England; and that, if they had been never so well disposed, they were not able to do it: and therefore he resolved that he would not, in a country that was so great a scene of war, live unactive and unconcerned: so his majesty sent to don Juan, "that he would accompany him in the field "the next campaign, without expecting any cere-"mony, or putting him to any trouble." But the Spaniards sent him a formal message, and employed the earl of Bristol to excuse them from consenting, or admitting his proposition, and to dissuade his majesty from affecting so unreasonably exposing his person. They said, "that they could not an-"swer it to his catholic majesty, if they should "permit his majesty, when his two brothers were "already in the army, and known to affect danger "so much as they did, likewise to engage his own "royal person; which they positively protested "against." And when they afterwards saw, that it was not in their power to restrain him from such adventures, whilst he remained at Bruges, which was now become a frontier by the neighbourhood of Mardike, and particularly that, under pretence of visiting the duke of York, who lay then at Dunkirk to make some attempt in the winter upon

that fort, his majesty having notice, what night they intended to assault it, went some days before to Dunkirk, and was present in that action, and so near that many were killed about him, and the marquis of Ormond, who was next to him, had his horse killed under him: they were willing his majesty should remove to Brussels; which they would never before consent to; and which was in many respects most grateful to him. And so, towards the spring, and before the armies were in motion, he left Bruges, where he had received, both from the bishop and the magistrates, all possible respect, there being at that time a Spaniard, Mark Ogniate, burgomaster, who, being born of an English mother, had all imaginable duty for the king, and being a man of excellent parts, and very dexterous in business, was very serviceable to his majesty; which he ever afterwards acknowledged; and about the end of February, in the year, by that account, 1658, he went to Brussels, and never after returned to Bruges to reside there.

His majesty was no sooner come thither, but don Alonzo renewed his advices, and importunity, that he would make a conjunction with the levellers; and to that purpose prevailed with him to admit their agent, one Sexby, to confer with him; which his majesty willingly consented to, presuming that Sexby might be privy to the address that had been made to him by the same party; which he was not, though they that sent the address well knew of his employment to the Spaniard, and had no mind to trust him to the king, at least not so soon. The man, for an illiterate person, spoke very well, and properly; and used those words

very well, the true meaning and signification whereof he could not understand. He had been, in the beginning, a common soldier of Cromwell's troops, and was afterwards one of those agitators who were made use of to control the parliament; and had so great an interest in Cromwell, that he was frequently his bedfellow; a familiarity he frequently admitted those to, whom he employed in any great trust, and with whom he could not so freely converse, as in those hours. He was very perfect in the history of Cromwell's dissimulations, and would describe his artifices to the life, and did very well understand the temper of the army, and wonderfully undervalue the credit and interest of the king's party; and made such demands to the king, as if it were in his power, and his alone, to restore him; in which don Alonzo concurred so totally, that, when he saw that the king would not be advised by him, he sent his friend Sexby into Spain to conclude there; and, upon the matter, wholly withdrew himself from so much as visiting the king. And there need not be any other character or description of the stupidity of that Spaniard, than that such a fellow, with the help of an Irish priest, should be able to cozen him, and make him to cozen his master of ten thousand pistoles; for he received not less than that in Flanders, whatever else he got by his journey to Madrid; which did not use to be of small expense to the Spaniard.

Nothing that was yet to come could be more manifest, than it was to all discerning men, that the first design the French army would undertake, when they should begin their campaign, must be

the siege of Dunkirk; without taking which, Mardike would do them little good: besides, their contract with Cromwell was no secret; yet the Spaniards totally neglected making provisions to defend it; being persuaded by some intelligence they always purchased at a great rate, to deceive themselves, that the French would begin the campaign with besieging Cambray. In the beginning of the year, the marquis de Leyde, governor of Dunkirk, and the best officer they had, in all respects, came to Brussels, having sent several expresses thither to no purpose to solicit for supplies. He told them, "that his intelligence was infallible, "that marshal Turenne was ready to march, and "that the French king himself would be in the "field to countenance the siege of Dunkirk, which "he could not defend, if he were not supplied with "men, ammunition, and victual;" of all which he stood in great need, and of neither of which he could get supply; they telling him, "that he would "not be besieged; that they were sure the French "meant to attempt Cambray;" which they provided the best they could, and bid him be confident, "that, if he were attacked, they would relieve "him with their army, and fight a battle before he "should be in danger." Being able to procure no other answer, he returned, and came to take his leave of the king as he went out of the town, and complained very much to his majesty of their counsels, and deluding themselves with false intelligence. He said, "he was going to defend a town without "men, without ammunition, and without victual, "against a very strong and triumphant army; "that, if he could have obtained supplies in any

" reasonable degree, he should have been able to " have entertained them some time; but in the " condition he was in, he could only lose his life " there; which he was resolved to do:" and spoke as if he were very willing to do it; and was as good as his word.

Within three or four days after his return, the French army appeared before Dunkirk; and then the Spaniard believed it; and made what haste they could to draw their army together, which was very much dispersed, so that, before they were upon their march, the French had perfected their circumvallation, and rendered it impossible to put any succours into the town. Now they found it necessary indeed to hazard a battle, which they had promised to do, when they intended nothing less. When the Spaniards had taken a full view of the posture the enemy was in, and were thereupon to choose their own ground, upon which they would be found, don Juan, and the marquis of Carracena, who agreed in nothing else, resolved how the army should be ranged; which the prince of Condé dissuaded them from; and told them very exactly what the marshal Turenne would do in that case; " and that he would still maintain " the siege, and give them likewise battle upon " the advantage of the ground; whereas, if they " would place their army near another part of the " line, they should easily have communication with " the town, and compel the French to fight with " more equal hazards."

It might very reasonably be said of the prince of Condé and marshal Turenne, what a good Roman historian said heretofore of Jugurtha and Marius;

that "*in iisdem castris didicere, quæ postea in con-*
"*trariis fecere;* they had in the same armies
"learned that discipline, and those stratagems,
"which they afterwards practised against each
"other in enemy armies;" and it was a wonderful and a pleasant thing to see and observe in attacks or in marches, with what foresight either of them would declare what the other would do: as the prince of Condé, when the armies marched near, and the Spaniards would not alter their former lazy pace, nor their rest at noon, would in choler tell them, "if we do not make great haste to pos-
"sess such a pass," (which they never thought of,)
"marshal Turenne will take it, though it be much
"farther from him;" and would then, when they considered not what he said, advance with his own troops to possess the place, even when the French were come in view; and by such seasonable foresights saved the Spanish army from many distresses. And marshal Turenne had the same caution, and governed himself according as the prince of Condé was in the rear or van of the army; and, upon the matter, only considered where he was, and ordered his marches accordingly; of which there was a very memorable instance two years before, when the Spanish army had besieged Arras, and when the duke of York was present with marshal Turenne. The Spaniards had made themselves so very strong, that when the French army came thither, they found that they could not compel them to fight, and that the town must be lost if they did not force the line. Marshal Turenne, accompanied with the duke of York, who would never be absent upon those occasions, and some of

the principal officers, spent two or three days in viewing the line round, and observing and informing himself of all that was to be known, and riding so near the line very frequently, that some of his company were killed within much less than musket shot. In the end, he called some of the principal officers, and said, "he would, that day at noon, "assault the line," at a place which he shewed to them; which the officers wondered at; and said, "it was the strongest part of the line; and that "they had observed to him, that the whole line on "the other side was very much weaker:" to which the marshal replied, "You do not know who keeps "that line; we shall do no good there; monsieur "le prince never sleeps, and that is his post; but "I will tell you, what will fall out on the other "side;" for he had himself marched in the Spanish army, and very well understood the customs of it. He told them then, "that it would be very long, "before the soldiers upon the line, or the adjacent "guard, would believe that the French were in "earnest, and that they would in truth at that "time of day assault them; but would think, that "they meant only to give them an alarm; which "they were never warm in receiving: that when "the Spaniards were convinced that the French "were in earnest, in which time he should be got "near their line, they would send to the count of "Fuensaldagna, who at that time of day was usually "asleep, and his servants would not be persuaded "to waken him in a moment. He would then "send for his horse, and ride up to the line; which "when he saw, he would with some haste repair "to the archduke's tent; who was likewise at his,

" siesto, and when he was awake, they would con-
" sult what was to be done; by which time," the marshal said, " they should have done:" and they did enter the line accordingly, and found by the prisoners, that every thing had fallen out as he had foretold. So the siege was raised, the Spaniards fled without making any resistance, left their cannon, bag and baggage, behind them: only the prince of Condé was in so good order upon the first alarm, that when he heard of the confusion they were in, he drew off with his cannon, and lost nothing that belonged to him, and marched with all his men to a place of safety.

Notwithstanding the advice which the prince of Condé had given, don Juan was positive in his first resolution. The prince, not without great indignation, consented; and drew up his troops in the place they desired; and quickly saw all come to pass that he had foretold. The country was most enclosed, so that the horse could not fight but in small bodies. The English foot under Lockhart charged the Spanish foot, and, after a good resistance, broke and routed them; after which there was not much more resistance on that side, the Spanish horse doing no better than their foot. Our king's foot were placed by themselves upon a little rising ground, and were charged by the French horse after the Spanish foot were beaten. Some of them, and the greater part, marched off by the favour of the enclosures, there not being above two hundred taken prisoners. The dukes of York and Gloucester charged several times on horseback; and in the end, having gotten some troops to go with them, charged the English, (whom, though enemies, they

were glad to see behave themselves so well,) and with great difficulty, and some blows of muskets, got safe off. But there was a rumour spread in the French army, that the duke of York was taken prisoner by the English, some men undertaking to say that they saw him in their hands: whereupon many of the French officers and gentlemen resolved to set him at liberty, and rode up to the body of English, and looked upon all their prisoners, and found they were misinformed; which if they had not been, they would undoubtedly, at any hazard, or danger, have enlarged him; so great an affection that nation owned to have for his highness.

The day being thus lost with a greater rout and confusion than loss of men, don Juan and the marquis of Carracena, who behaved themselves in their own persons with courage enough, were contented to think better of the prince of Condé's advice, by which they preserved the best part of the army, and retired to Ypres and Furnes, and the duke of York to Newport, that they might defend the rest when Dunkirk should be taken; which was the present business of marshal Turenne; who found the marquis de Leyde resolved to defend it, notwithstanding the defeat of the army: and therefore he betook himself again to that work, as soon as the Spanish army was retired into fastness. The marquis de Leyde, when he saw there was no more hope of relief from don Juan, which whilst he expected, he was wary in the hazard of his men, was now resolved to try what he could do for himself: so with as strong a party as he could make, he made a desperate sally upon the enemy; who,

though he disordered them, were quickly so seconded, that they drove him back into the town with great loss, after himself had received a wound, of which he died within three days after. And then the officers sent to treat, which he would not consent to whilst he lived. The marquis was a much greater loss than the town; which the master of the field may be always master of in two months' time at most. But in truth the death of the marquis was an irreparable damage, he being a very wise man, of great experience, great wisdom, and great piety; insomuch as he had an intention to have taken orders in the church; to which he was most devoted.

Those in the town had fair conditions to march to St. Omers, that they might not join with the relics of their army. The French king, being by this time come to the camp with the cardinal, entered the town, and took possession of it himself; which as soon as he had done, he delivered it into the hands of Lockhart, whom Cromwell had made governor of it. Thus the treaty was performed between them; and that king went presently to Calais, and from thence sent the duke of Crequy, together with Mancini, nephew to the cardinal, to London to visit Cromwell; who likewise sent his son-in-law, the lord Falconbridge, to Calais, to congratulate with that king for their joint prosperity. And mutual professions were then renewed between them, with new obligations "never "to make peace without each other's consent."

When don Juan had first removed from Brussels, and the army marched into the field, the king had renewed his desire that he might likewise go with

them, but was refused with the same positiveness he had been before. His majesty thereupon resolved that he would not stay alone in Brussels, whilst all the world was in action; but thought of some more private place, where he might take the summer air, and refresh himself during that season. He was the more confirmed in this upon the news of the defeat of the army near Dunkirk, and the loss of that place. So he removed to a village called Hochstraten; where there were very good houses, capable to have received a greater train than belonged to his court. Thither the king went about the month of August; the village lying upon the skirts of the States' dominions in Brabant, and within five or six miles of Breda, sometimes he made journeys, *incognito*, to see places where he had not been before.

There a man might have observed the great difference of the condition, which the subjects in the States' dominions, even in the sight and view of the other, enjoy above what their neighbours of the Spanish territories are acquainted with. Hochstraten is an open village belonging to the count of that name, and hath enjoyed very ample privileges, the owner thereof being one of the greatest nobles in the duchy of Brabant. It is pleasantly seated, many very good houses, and the manor large of extent, and of great revenue. But by reason that it is always a horse-quarter in the winter season, who use great license, it is so poor, that those good houses have only walls; so that the people had not furniture to supply those rooms which were for the accommodation of those who attended the king, though they were sure to be

very well paid, and therefore used all the means they could to procure it. But there appeared poverty in the faces and looks of the people, good grounds without any stock, and, in a word, nothing that looked well but the houses, and those empty within: on the other side of a line that is drawn, (for a man may set one foot in the dominion that is reserved to the king of Spain, and the other in that which is assigned to the Hollander,) the houses, though not standing so thick, nor so beautiful without, clean, neat; and well furnished within; very good linen, and some plate in every house; the people fat, well clothed, and with looks very well pleased; all the grounds and land fully stocked with all kind of cattle, and, as if it were the land of Goshen, the appearance of nothing but wealth and fertility, encompassed by extreme barrenness, and unconceivable poverty. And they on the Holland side, that lies equally open and undefended, can see the Spanish troops exercise all license upon their poor neighbours of Hochstraten; and yet the most dissolute among them dare not step into their quarters to take a hen, or commit the least trespass: so strictly the articles of the peace are observed.

Whilst the king spent his time in this manner, about the middle of September, the duke of York, who remained still with the troops at Newport to defend that place, as don Juan, and the rest, remained about Fernes and Bruges, sent an express to the king to let him know, "that the letters "from England, and some passengers, reported "confidently that Cromwell was dead;" which, there having been no news of his sickness, was not at

first easily believed. But every day brought confirmation of it; so that his majesty thought fit to give over his country life, and returned again to Brussels, that he might be ready to make use of any advantage, which, in that conjuncture, upon so wonderful an alteration, he might reasonably expect.

It had been observed in England, that, though from the dissolution of the last parliament, all things seemed to succeed, at home and abroad, to the protector's wish, and his power and greatness to be better established than ever it had been, yet he never had the same serenity of mind he had been used to, after he had refused the crown; but was out of countenance, and chagrin, as if he were conscious of not having been true to himself; and much more apprehensive of danger to his person than he had used to be. Insomuch as he was not easy of access, nor so much seen abroad; and seemed to be in some disorder, when his eyes found any stranger in the room; upon whom they were still fixed. When he intended to go to Hampton Court, which was his principal delight and diversion, it was never known, till he was in the coach, which way he would go; and he was still hemmed in by his guards both before and behind; and the coach in which he went was always thronged as full as it could be, with his servants; who were armed; and he seldom returned the same way he went; and rarely lodged two nights together in one chamber, but had many furnished and prepared, to which his own key conveyed him and those he would have with him, when he had a mind to go to bed: which made his fears the more

taken notice of, and public, because he had never been accustomed to those precautions.

It is very true, he knew of many combinations to assassinate him, by those who, he believed, wished the king no good. And when he had discovered the design of Syndercome, who was a very stout man, and one who had been much in his favour, and who had twice or thrice, by wonderful and unexpected accidents, been disappointed in the minute he made sure to kill him, and had caused him to be apprehended, his behaviour was so resolute in his examination and trial, as if he thought he should still be able to do it; and it was manifest that he had many more associates, who were undiscovered and as resolute as himself; and though he had got him condemned to die, the fellow's carriage and words were such, as if he knew well how to avoid the judgment; which made Cromwell believe, that a party in the army would attempt his rescue; whereupon he gave strict charge, "that "he should be carefully looked to in the Tower, "and three or four of the guard always with him "day and night."

At the day appointed for his execution, those troops Cromwell was most confident of were placed upon the Tower-hill, where the gallows were erected. But when the guard called Syndercome to arise in the morning, they found him dead in his bed; which gave trouble exceedingly to Cromwell; for besides that he hoped, that, at his death, to avoid the utmost rigour of it, he would have confessed many of his confederates, he now found himself under the reproach of having caused him to be poisoned, as not daring to bring him to

public justice: nor could he suppress that scandal. Though it did appear upon examination, that the night before, when he was going to bed in the presence of his guard, his sister came to take her leave of him; and whilst they spake together at the bedside, he rubbed his nose with his hand, of which they then took no notice; and she going away, he put off his clothes, and leaped into his bed, with some snuffling in his nose, and said, "this was the last bed he should ever go into;" and seemed to turn to sleep, and never in the whole night made the least noise or motion, save that he sneezed once. When the physicians and surgeons opened his head, they found he had snuffed up through his nostrils some very well prepared poison, that in an instant curdled all his blood in that region, which presently suffocated him. His body was drawn by a horse to the gallows where he should have hanged, and buried under it, with a stake driven through him, as is usual in the case of self-murderers: yet this accident perplexed Cromwell very much; and though he was without the particular discovery which he expected, he made a general discovery by it, that he himself was more odious in his army than he believed he had been.

He seemed to be much afflicted at the death of his friend the earl of Warwick; with whom he had a fast friendship; though neither their humours, nor their natures, were like. And the heir of that house, who had married his youngest daughter, died about the same time; so that all his relation to, or confidence in, that family was at an end; the other branches of it abhorring his alliance.

His domestic delights were lessened every day: he plainly discovered that his son Falconbridge's heart was set upon an interest destructive to his, and grew to hate him perfectly. But that which chiefly broke his peace, was the death of his daughter Claypole; who had been always his greatest joy, and who, in her sickness, which was of a nature the physicians knew not how to deal with, had several conferences with him, which exceedingly perplexed him. Though nobody was near enough to hear the particulars, yet her often mentioning, in the pains she endured, the blood her father had spilt, made people conclude, that she had presented his worst actions to his consideration. And though he never made the least show of remorse for any of those actions, it is very certain, that either what she said, or her death, affected him wonderfully.

Whatever it was, about the middle of August, he was seized on by a common tertian ague, from which, he believed, a little ease and divertisement at Hampton Court would have freed him. But the fits grew stronger, and his spirits much abated: so that he returned again to Whitehall, when his physicians began to think him in danger, though the preachers, who prayed always about him, and told God Almighty what great things he had done for him, and how much more need he had still of his service, declared as from God, that he should recover: and he did not think he should die, till even the time that his spirits failed him. Then he declared to them, "that he did appoint his son to "succeed him, his eldest son Richard;" and so expired upon the third day of September, 1658, a

day he thought always very propitious to him, and on which he had twice triumphed for several victories; a day very memorable for the greatest storm of wind that had been ever known, for some hours before and after his death, which overthrew trees, houses, and made great wrecks at sea; and [the tempest] was so universal, that the effects of it were terrible both in France and Flanders, where all people trembled at it; for, besides the wrecks all along the sea-coast, many boats were cast away in the very rivers; and within few days after, the circumstance of his death, that accompanied that storm, was known.

He was one of those men, *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt, nisi ut simul laudent;* [whom his very enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time:] for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of courage, industry, and judgment. He must have had a wonderful understanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in applying them; who, from a private and obscure birth, (though of a good family,) without interest or estate, alliance or friendship, could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humours, and interests into a consistence, that contributed to his designs, and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building. What Velleius Paterculus said of Cinna may very justly be said of him, *ausum eum, quæ nemo auderet bonus; perfecisse, quæ a nullo, nisi fortissimo, per-*

fici possent: [he attempted those things which no good man durst have ventured on; and achieved those in which none but a valiant and great man could have succeeded.] Without doubt, no man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion, and moral honesty; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those trophies, without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution.

When he appeared first in the parliament, he seemed to have a person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those talents which use to reconcile the affections of the stander by: yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had had concealed faculties, till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom.

After he was confirmed and invested protector by the humble petition and advice, he consulted with very few upon any action of importance, nor communicated any enterprise he resolved upon, with more than those who were to have principal parts in the execution of it; nor with them sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolved, in which he was not rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority; but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

When he had laid some very extraordinary tax

upon the city, one Cony, an eminent fanatic, and one who had heretofore served him very notably, positively refused to pay his part; and loudly dissuaded others from submitting to it, "as an impo-"sition notoriously against the law, and the pro-"perty of the subject, which all honest men were "bound to defend." Cromwell sent for him, and cajoled him with the memory of "the old kindness, "and friendship, that had been between them; "and that of all men he did not expect this oppo-"sition from him, in a matter that was so neces-"sary for the good of the commonwealth." But it was always his fortune to meet with the most rude and obstinate behaviour from those who had formerly been absolutely governed by him; and they commonly put him in mind of some expressions and sayings of his own, in cases of the like nature: so this man remembered him, how great an enemy he had expressed himself to such grievances, and had declared, "that all who submitted "to them, and paid illegal taxes, were more to "blame, and greater enemies to their country, "than they who had imposed them; and that the "tyranny of princes could never be grievous, but "by the tameness and stupidity of the people." When Cromwell saw that he could not convert him, he told him, "that he had a will as stubborn "as his, and he would try which of them two "should be master." Thereupon, with some terms of reproach and contempt, he committed the man to prison; whose courage was nothing abated by it; but as soon as the term came, he brought his habeas corpus in the king's bench, which they then called the upper bench. Maynard, who was of

council with the prisoner, demanded his liberty with great confidence, both upon the illegality of the commitment, and the illegality of the imposition, as being laid without any lawful authority. The judges could not maintain or defend either, and enough declared what their sentence would be; and therefore the protector's attorney required a farther day, to answer what had been urged. Before that day, Maynard was committed to the Tower, for presuming to question or make doubt of his authority; and the judges were sent for, and severely reprehended for suffering that license; when they, with all humility, mentioned the law and magna charta, Cromwell told them, "their "magna f—— should not control his actions; "which he knew were for the safety of the com- "monwealth." He asked them, "who made them "judges? whether they had any authority to sit "there, but what he gave them? and if his au- "thority were at an end, they knew well enough "what would become of themselves; and there- "fore advised them to be more tender of that "which could only preserve them;" and so dismissed them with caution, "that they should not "suffer the lawyers to prate what it would not "become them to hear."

Thus he subdued a spirit that had been often troublesome to the most sovereign power, and made Westminster-hall as obedient, and subservient to his commands, as any of the rest of his quarters. In all other matters, which did not concern the life of his jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, rarely interposing between party and party. As he proceeded with

this kind of indignation and haughtiness with those who were refractory, and dared to contend with his greatness, so towards all who complied with his good pleasure, and courted his protection, he used a wonderful civility, generosity, and bounty.

To reduce three nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his dictates; to awe and govern those nations by an army that was indevoted to him, and wished his ruin, was an instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover, which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it. As they did all sacrifice their honour and their interest to his pleasure, so there is nothing he could have demanded, that either of them would have denied him. To manifest which, there needs only two instances. The first is, when those of the valley of Lucerne had unwarily rebelled against the duke of Savoy, which gave occasion to the pope, and the neighhour princes of Italy, to call and solicit for their extirpation, and their prince positively resolved upon it, Cromwell sent his agent to the duke of Savoy, a prince with whom he had no correspondence, or commerce, and so engaged the cardinal, and even terrified the pope himself, without so much as doing any grace to the English Roman catholics, (nothing being more usual than his saying, "that his ships in the "Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia; and "that the sound of his cannon should be heard in "Rome,") that the duke of Savoy thought it necessary to restore all that he had taken from them,

and did renew all those privileges they had formerly enjoyed, and newly forfeited.

The other instance of his authority was yet greater, and more incredible. In the city of Nismes, which is one of the fairest in the province of Languedoc, and where those of the religion do most abound, there was a great faction at that season when the consuls (who are the chief magistrates) were to be chosen. Those of the reformed religion had the confidence to set up one of themselves for that magistracy; which they of the Roman religion resolved to oppose with all their power. The dissension between them made so much noise, that the intendant of the province, who is the supreme minister in all civil affairs throughout the whole province, went thither to prevent any disorder that might happen. When the day of election came, those of the religion possessed themselves with many armed men of the town-house, where the election was to be made. The magistrates sent to know what their meaning was; to which they answered, "they were there "to give their voices for the choice of the new "consuls, and to be sure that the election should "be fairly made." The bishop of the city, the intendant of the province, with all the officers of the church, and the present magistrates of the town, went together in their robes to be present at the election, without any suspicion that there would be any force used. When they came near the gate of the town-house, which was shut, and they supposed would be opened when they came, they within poured out a volley of musket-shot upon them, by which the dean of the church, and

two or three of the magistrates of the town, were killed upon the place, and very many others wounded; whereof some died shortly after. In this confusion, the magistrates put themselves into as good a posture to defend themselves as they could, without any purpose of offending the other, till they should be better provided; in order to which they sent an express to the court with a plain relation of the whole matter of fact, "and "that there appeared to be no manner of combi- "nation with those of the religion in other places "of the province; but that it was an insolence in "those of the place, upon the presumption of their "great numbers, which were little inferior to those "of the catholics." The court was glad of the occasion, and resolved that this provocation, in which other places were not involved, and which nobody could excuse, should warrant all kind of severity in that city, even to the pulling down their temples, and expelling many of them for ever out of the city; which, with the execution and forfeiture of many of the principal persons, would be a general mortification to all of the religion in France; with whom they were heartily offended; and a part of the army was forthwith ordered to march towards Nismes, to see this executed with the utmost rigour.

Those of the religion in the town were quickly sensible into what condition they had brought themselves; and sent, with all possible submission, to the magistrates to excuse themselves, and to impute what had been done to the rashness of particular men, who had no order for what they did. The magistrates answered, "that they were glad

"they were sensible of their miscarriage; but they "could say nothing upon the subject, till the king's "pleasure should be known; to whom they had "sent a full relation of all that had passed." The others very well knew what the king's pleasure would be, and forthwith sent an express, one Moulins, a Scotchman, who had lived many years in that place, and in Montpelier, to Cromwell to desire his protection and interposition. The express made so much haste, and found so good a reception the first hour he came, that Cromwell, after he had received the whole account, bade him "refresh "himself after so long a journey, and he would "take such care of his business, that by the time "he came to Paris he should find it despatched;" and, that night, sent away another messenger to his ambassador Lockhart; who, by the time Moulins came thither, had so far prevailed with the cardinal, that orders were sent to stop the troops, which were upon their march towards Nismes; and, within few days after, Moulins returned with a full pardon and amnesty from the king, under the great seal of France, so fully confirmed with all circumstances, that there was never farther mention made of it, but all things passed as if there had never been any such thing. So that nobody can wonder, that his memory remains still in those parts, and with those people, in great veneration.

He would never suffer himself to be denied any thing he ever asked of the cardinal, alleging, "that "the people would not be otherwise satisfied;" which the cardinal bore very heavily, and complained of to those with whom he would be free. One day he visited madam Turenne, and when he

took his leave of her, she, according to her custom, besought him to continue gracious to the churches. Whereupon the cardinal told her, "that he knew "not how to behave himself; if he advised the "king to punish and suppress their insolence, "Cromwell threatened him to join with the Span- "iard; and if he shewed any favour to them, at "Rome they accounted him an heretic."

He was not a man of blood, and totally declined Machiavel's method; which prescribes, upon any alteration of government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off all the heads of those, and extirpate their families, who are friends to the old one. It was confidently reported, that, in the council of officers, it was more than once proposed, "that there might be a general massacre of "all the royal party, as the only expedient to "secure the government," but that Cromwell would never consent to it; it may be, out of too much contempt of his enemies. In a word, as he had all the wickednesses against which damnation is denounced, and for which hell-fire is prepared, so he had some virtues which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated; and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave bad man.

THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XVI.

CONTRARY to all expectation both at home and abroad, this earthquake was attended with no signal alteration. It was believed that Lambert would be in the head of the army, and that Monk in Scotland would never submit to that subordination. Besides the expectation the king had from the general affection of the kingdom, he had fair promises from men of interest in it, and of command in the army, who professed to prepare for such a conjuncture as this; and that the disorder arising from Cromwell's death might dispose Lockhart to depend upon the best title, seemed a reasonable expectation: but nothing of this fell out. Never monarch, after he had inherited a crown by many descents, died in more silence, nor with less alteration; and there was the same, or a greater calm in the kingdom than had been before.

The next morning after the death of Oliver, Richard his son was proclaimed his lawful suc-

cessor; the army congratulate their new general, and renew their vows of fidelity to him; the navy doth the like; the city appears more unanimous for his service, than they were for his father's; and most counties in England, by addresses under their hands, testified their obedience to their new sovereign without any hesitation. The dead is interred in the sepulchre of the kings, and with the obsequies due to such. His son inherits all his greatness, and all his glory, without that public hate, that visibly attended the other. Foreign princes addressed their condolences to him, and desired to renew their alliances; and nothing was heard in England but the voice of joy, and large encomiums of their new protector: so that the king's condition never appeared so hopeless, so desperate; for a more favourable conjuncture his friends could never expect than this, which blasted all their hopes, and confirmed their utmost despair.

It is probable that this melancholic prospect might have continued long, if this child of fortune could have sat still, and been contented to have enjoyed his own felicity. But his council thought it necessary that he should call a parliament, to confirm what they had already given him, and to dispel all clouds which might arise. And there seemed to be the more reason for it, because the last alliance which Oliver had made with the crown of Sweden, and of which he was fonder than of all the rest, did oblige him in the spring to send a strong fleet into the Sound, to assist that king against Denmark; at least to oblige Denmark, by way of mediation, to accept of such conditions as

the other would be willing to give him. This could hardly be done without some assistance by parliament; and therefore the new protector sent out his writs to call a parliament, to meet together on the twenty-seventh day of January; till which day, for near five months, he remained as great a prince as ever his father had been. He followed the model that was left him; and sent out his writs to call those as peers who had constituted the other house in the former parliament; and so both lords and commons met at the day assigned.

Richard came to the parliament in the same state that Oliver his father had used to do; and sent the gentleman usher of the black rod to the commons, that they should attend him in the other house; where, first by himself, and then by the keeper of his great seal, Nathaniel Fiennes, he recommended to them the prosecution of the war with Spain, and the assistance of the king of Sweden in the Sound. He had so good fortune at the entrance, that all the commons signed an engagement not to alter the present government. But they were no sooner enclosed within those walls, than there appeared the old republican spirit, though more wary than it had used to be. It begun with inquiring into the accounts, how the money had been spent, and into the offices of excise and customs, and what was become of all that revenue. When they were called upon to settle the act of recognition, to confirm Richard, and his authority in the state, they would first inform themselves of their own authority, and how far the government was already settled, and what part was fit to be assigned to the other house; which they

would by no means allow to be a part of the government already established, which they had promised not to alter. Upon this argument they exercised themselves with great license, as well upon the creator of those peers, and the power of the late protector, as upon his creatures the peers; of whose dignity they were not tender, but handled them according to the quality they had been of, not that which they were in. They put the house in mind, "how grievous it had been to the king-"dom, that the bishops had sat in the house of "peers, because they were looked upon as so many "votes for the king; which was a reason much "stronger against these persons; who were all the "work of the protector's own hand, and therefore "could not but be entirely addicted and devoted "to his interest." They concluded, "that they "could not, with good consciences, and without "the guilt of perjury, ever consent, that that other "house should have any part in the government, "since they had all taken the engagement, that "there should be no more any house of peers, and "that the office of protector had been and might "still continue without it."

Notwithstanding all this confidence, which disturbed the method intended to be proceeded in, this violent party could not prevail, but it was carried by the major part of the house, "that they "would meet, and confer with the other house, "as a part of the parliament, during this present "parliament; and likewise, that such other per-"sons, as had a right to come to that other house, "and had not forfeited it by their breach of trust," (by which they meant those lords who had been

always against the king,) "should not be restrained "from coming thither:" yet the temper of the house of commons could hardly be judged by all this. Some things were done, which looked like condescension to the royal party; but more for the countenance of the presbyterians; and whatsoever contradicted those who were for a republic, was looked upon as favourable to the protector.

The stirring these several humours, and the drowsy temper of Richard, raised another spirit in the army. A new council of officers met together by their own authority, and admitted Lambert, though no member of the army, to sit with them; they neither liked protector nor parliament, but consulted what government to settle, that might be better than either: yet they would not incense them both together, nor appear to have any disinclination to Richard, who had many of his nearest friends amongst them. They therefore prepared an address to him; in which they complained of "the great arrears of pay that were due to the "army, by which they were in great straits: that "they, who had borne the brunt of the war, and "undergone all the difficulties and dangers of it, "were now undervalued, derided, and laid aside: "that the good old cause was ill spoken of, and "traduced by malignants and disaffected persons; "who grew every day more insolent, and their "numbers increased, by the resort out of Flanders, "and other places; and they had several secret "meetings in the city of London: that the names "of all those who had sat upon the late king as his "judges, were lately printed in red letters, and "scattered abroad, as if they were designed to

" destruction; and that many suits were com-
" menced at common law against honest men, for
" what they had transacted in the war as soldiers:
" that those famous acts which had been performed
" in the long parliament, and by the late protector,
" were censured, railed at, and vilified. By all
" which," they said, " it was very manifest, that
" the good old cause was declined; which they
" were resolved to assert. And therefore they
" besought his highness to represent those their
" complaints to the parliament, and to require
" proper and speedy remedies."

This address was delivered from the army by Fleetwood to Richard, on April 6th, 1659; which was no sooner known, than Tichburn and Ireton, two aldermen of London, and principal commanders of that militia, drew up likewise a remonstrance, and sent it to the council of officers; in which they declared their resolutions with the army to stick to the good old cause, and that they were resolved to accompany them, in whatsoever they should do for the nation's good.

The parliament was quickly alarmed with these cabals of the army and the city; which Richard was as much terrified with as they. In order to the suppression thereof, the parliament voted, " that
" there should be no meeting, or general council
" of officers, without the protector's consent, and
" by his order: and, that no person should have
" commands by sea or land, in either of the three
" nations, who did not immediately subscribe, that
" he would not disturb the free meeting of parlia-
" ments, or of any members in either house of par-
" liament; nor obstruct their freedom in debates

"and counsels." These votes, or to this effect, were sent to Richard, and by him presently to Wallingford-house, where the council of officers then sat.

These officers were men who resolved to execute as well as order; they knew well that they were gone much too far, if they went no farther: and therefore they no sooner received these votes, but they sent Fleetwood and Desborough to Richard (the first had married his sister; the other was his uncle: both raised by Cromwell) to advise him forthwith to dissolve the parliament. They were two upon whose affection, in regard of the nearness of their alliance, and their obligation to and dependence upon his father, he had as much reason to be confident, as on any men's in the nation. Fleetwood used no arguments but of conscience, "to prevent the nation's being engaged in blood; "which," he said, "would inevitably fall out, if "the parliament were not presently dissolved." Desborough, a fellow of a rough and rude temper, treated him only with threats and menaces; told him, "it was impossible for him to keep both the parlia- "ment and the army his friends;" wished him "to choose which he would prefer: if he dissolved "the parliament out of hand, he had the army at "his devotion; if he refused that, he believed the "army would quickly pull him out of Whitehall."

The poor man had not spirit enough to discern what was best for him; and yet he was not without friends to counsel him, if he had been capable to receive counsel. Besides many members of the parliament, of courage and interest, who repaired to him with assurance, "that the parliament would

" continue firm to him, and destroy the ringleaders " of this seditious crew, if he would adhere to the " parliament; but if he were prevailed upon to " dissolve it, he would be left without a friend; " and they who had compelled him to do so impru " dent an action would contemn him when he had " done it;" some officers of the army likewise, of equal courage and interest with any of the rest, persuaded him " to reject the desire of those who " called themselves the council of the army, and to " think of punishing their presumption." Ingoldsby, Whaley, and Goffe, three colonels of the army, and, the two former, men of signal courage, offered to stand by him; and one of them offered to kill Lambert, (whom they looked upon as the author of this conspiracy,) if he would give him a warrant to that purpose.

Richard continued irresolute, now inclined one way, then another. But in the end, Desborough and his companions prevailed with him, before they parted, to sign a commission, which they had caused to be prepared, to Nathaniel Fiennes, his keeper of the seal, to dissolve the parliament the next morning; of which the parliament having notice, they resolved not to go up. So that when Fiennes sent for them to the other house, the commons shut the door of their house, and would not suffer the gentleman usher of the black rod to come in, but adjourned themselves for three days, till the five and twentieth of April, imagining that they should by that time convert the protector from destroying himself. But the poor creature was so hared by the council of officers, that he presently caused a proclamation to be issued out, by which he did

declare the parliament to be dissolved. And from that minute nobody resorted to him, nor was the name of the protector afterwards heard of but in derision; the council of officers appointing guards to attend at Westminster, which kept out those members, who, in pursuance of their adjournment, would have entered into the house upon the day appointed. Thus, by extreme pusillanimity, the son suffered himself to be stripped, in one moment, of all the greatness and power, which the father had acquired in so many years, with wonderful courage, industry, and resolution.

When the council of officers had, with this strange success, having no authority but what they gave one another, rid themselves of a superior; or, as the phrase then was, removed the *single person;* they knew that they could not long hold the government in their own hands, if, before any thing else, they did not remove Ingoldsby, Whaley, Goffe, and those other officers, who had dissuaded Richard from submitting to their advice, from having any command in the army; which they therefore did; and replaced Lambert, and all the rest who had been cashiered by Oliver, into their own charges again. So that the army was become republican to their wish; and, that the government might return to be purely such, they published a declaration upon the sixth of May, wherein, after a large preamble in commendation of the good old cause, and excusing themselves, "for having been "instrumental in declining from it; whence all the "ills, the commonwealth had sustained, had pro-"ceeded, and the vindication whereof they were "resolved to pursue for the future;" they remem-

bered, "that the long parliament, consisting of "those members who had continued to sit till the "twentieth of April 1653," (which was the day that Cromwell, with the assistance of these very officers, had pulled them out of the house, and dismissed them,) "had been eminent assertors of that "cause, and had a special presence of God with "them, and were signally blessed in that work." They said, "that the desires of many good people "concurring with them, they did, by that declara-"tion, according to their duty, invite those mem-"bers to return to the discharge of their trust, as "they had done before that day;" and promised, "that they would be ready, in their places, to yield "them their utmost assistance, that they might "sit, and consult in safety, for the settling and "securing the peace and quiet of the common-"wealth, for which they had now so good an op-"portunity."

This [restoring the rump parliament] was the only way in which they could all agree, though it was not suitable to what most of them desired: they well foresaw, that they might give an opportunity to more people to come together than would be for their benefit; for that all the surviving members of that parliament would pretend a title to sit there: and therefore they did not only carefully limit the convention to such members who had continued to sit from January 1648 to April 1653, but caused a guard likewise to attend, to hinder and keep the other members from entering into the house. When Lenthal, the old speaker, with forty or fifty of those old members specified in the declaration, took their places in the house,

and some of the old excluded members likewise got in, and entered into debate with them upon the matters proposed, the house was adjourned till the next day: and then better care was taken, by appointing such persons, who well knew all the members, to inform the guards, who were, and who were not, to go into the house. By this means that cabal only was suffered to enter which had first formed the commonwealth, and fostered it for near five years after it was born. So that the return of the government into these men's hands again, seemed to all to be the most dismal change that could happen, and to pull up all the hopes of the king by the roots; and it did for the present make so deep an impression in the hearts of many, that when an overture was at that time made from Spain to make the duke of York admiral of his galleys, which the king for many reasons suspended giving his consent unto, the chief servants about his royal highness were so transported with the proposition, that they were very much troubled that their master made not all the haste that was possible to be possessed of the charge; and endeavoured all they could to persuade the duke, that they who prevailed with the king not to give his consent were his enemies, and would not have him to be in a condition in which he might be able to live like a prince. And when in discourse they were desired to consider, that if the duke went into Spain, he could not be permitted to enter into that charge, what title soever he might have given to him, unless he changed his religion and became catholic; and what the consequence of that might be in England, they were so far from being moved

with the argument, and in that despair of ever seeing England, that they thought the religion of it not worth the insisting on.

We must, for the better observation and distinction of the several changes in the government, call this congregation of men, who were now repossessed of the government, by the style they called themselves, the parliament; how far soever they were from being one. They resolved in the first place to vindicate and establish their own authority; which they could not think to be firm, whilst there was still a protector, or the name of a protector, in being, and residing in Whitehall. They appointed therefore a committee to go to Richard Cromwell, and, that he might have hope they would be his good masters, first to inquire into the state of his debts, and then to demand of him, whether he acquiesced in the present government? He, already humbled to that poverty of spirit they could wish, gave the committee a paper, "in which," he said, "was contained the state of his debts, and how "contracted;" which amounted to twenty-nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds.

To the other question, his answer was likewise in writing; "that he trusted, his carriage and "behaviour had manifested his acquiescence in the "will and good pleasure of God, and that he loved "and valued the peace of the commonwealth much "above his private concernment; desiring by this, "that a measure of his future comportment might "be taken; which, by the blessing of God, should "be such as should bear the same witness; he "having, he hoped, in some degree learned rather "to reverence and submit to the hand of God,

" than be unquiet under it: that, as to the late " providence that had fallen out, however, in re- " spect to the particular engagement that lay upon " him, he could not be active in making a change " in the government of the nations, yet, through " the goodness of God, he could freely acquiesce " in it being made; and did hold himself obliged, " as with other men he might expect protection " from the present government, so to demean him- " self with all peaceableness under it, and to pro- " cure, to the uttermost of his power, that all in " whom he had interest should do the same."

This satisfied them as to Richard; but they were not without apprehension that they should find a more refractory spirit in his brother Harry, who was lieutenant of Ireland, and looked upon as a man of another air and temper. He had in his exercise of that government, by the jolliness of his humour, and a general civility towards all, and very particularly obliging some, rendered himself gracious and popular to all sorts of people, and might have been able to have made some contests with the parliament. But as soon as he received an order from them to attend them in person, he thought not fit to be wiser than his elder brother, and came over to them even sooner than they expected, and laid his commission at their feet; which they accepted, and put the government of that kingdom into the hands of Ludlow, and four other commissioners.

It may not prove ingrateful to the reader, in this place, to entertain him with a very pleasant story, that related to this miserable Richard, though [it happened] long afterwards; because there will not

be again any occasion so much as to mention him, during the continuance of this relation. Shortly after the king's return, and the manifest joy that possessed the whole kingdom thereupon, this poor creature found it necessary to transport himself into France, more for fear of his debts than of the *king*; who thought it not necessary to inquire after a man so long forgotten. After he had lived some years in Paris untaken notice of, and indeed unknown, living in a most obscure condition and disguise, not owning his own name, nor having above one servant to attend him, he thought it necessary, upon the first rumour and apprehension that there was like to be a war between England and France, to quit that kingdom, and to remove to some place that would be neutral to either party; and pitched upon Geneva. Making his way thither by Bourdeaux, and through the province of Languedoc, he passed through Pezenas, a very pleasant town belonging to the prince of Conti, who hath a fair palace there, and, being then governor of Languedoc, made his residence in it.

In this place Richard made some stay, and walking abroad to entertain himself with the view of the situation, and of many things worth the seeing, he met with a person who well knew him, and was well known by him, the other having always been of his father's and of his party; so that they were glad enough to find themselves together. The other told him, "that all strangers "who came to that town used to wait upon the "prince of Conti, the governor of the province; "who expected it, and always treated strangers, "and particularly the English, with much civility:

" that he need not be known, but that he himself " would first go to the prince and inform him, " that another English gentleman was passing " through that town towards Italy, who would be " glad to have the honour to kiss his hands." The prince received him with great civility and grace, according to his natural custom, and, after few words, begun to discourse of the affairs of England, and asked many questions concerning the king, and whether all men were quiet, and submitted obediently to him; which the other answered briefly, according to the truth. " Well," said the prince, " Oliver, though he was a traitor and a villain, was " a brave fellow, had great parts, great courage, " and was worthy to command: but that Richard, " that coxcomb, *coquin*, *poltron*, was surely the " basest fellow alive. What is become of that " fool? how was it possible he could be such a " sot?" He answered, " that he was betrayed by " those whom he most trusted, and who had been " most obliged by his father;" so being weary of his visit, quickly took his leave, and the next morning left the town, out of fear that the prince might know that he was the very fool and coxcomb he had mentioned so kindly. And within two days after, the prince did come to know who it was whom he had treated so well, and whom before, by his behaviour, he had believed to be a man not very glad of the king's restoration.

Monk from Scotland presented his obedience to the parliament, and the assurance of the fidelity of the army under his command, to all their determinations. The navy congratulated their return to the sovereign power, and tendered their sub-

mission. The ambassadors who were in the town quickly received new credentials, and then had audience from them, as their good allies, making all the professions to them, which they had formerly done to Oliver and Richard. The parliament continued Lockhart as their ambassador in France, as a man who could best cajole the cardinal, and knew well the bowels of that court. They sent ambassadors to the Sound, to mediate a peace between those two crowns, being resolved to decline all occasions of expense abroad, that they might the better settle their government at home. To that purpose they were willing to put an end to the war with Spain, without parting with any thing that had been taken from it, which would not consist with their honour. That they might throughly unite their friends of the army to them, they passed an act of indemnity to pardon all their former transgressions and tergiversations, which had been the cause of the parliament's former dissolution, and of all the mischief which had followed.

Now there appeared as great a calm as ever, and their government well settled, to the general content of the people, who testified the same by their general acclamations, and likewise by particular addresses. And, that they might be sure to be liable to no more affronts, they would no more make a general, which might again introduce a single person; the thought of which, or of any thing that might contribute towards it, they most heartily abhorred. And to make that impossible, they appointed "the speaker to execute the office "of general, in such manner as they should direct;

" and that all commissions should be granted by " him, and sealed with their own seal;" all the seals used by the Cromwells being broken. And accordingly all the officers of the army and navy (for the speaker was admiral as well as general) delivered up their commissions, and took new ones in the form that was prescribed. So that now they saw not how their empire could be shaken.

But these men had not sat long in their old places, when they called to mind how they had been used after they had been deposed, the reproaches and the contempt they underwent from all kind of people; but above all, the scoffs and derision they suffered from the king's party, when they saw them reduced to the same level in power and authority. And though the smart they felt from others vexed and angered them as much, yet they were content to suspend their revenge towards them, that they might with less control exercise their tyranny over the poor broken cavaliers. So they made a present order, " to banish all who had " ever manifested any affection to the king, or his " father, twenty miles from London;" and revived all those orders they had formerly made, and which Cromwell had abolished or forborne to execute; by which many persons were committed to prisons for offences they thought had been forgotten. And the consequence of these proceedings awakened those of another classis, to apprehensions of what they might be made liable to. The soldiers were very merry at their new general, and thought it necessary he should march with them upon the next adventure; and the officers thought they had deserved more than an act of indemnity, for restor-

ing them to such a sovereignty. In a word, as the parliament remembered how they had been used, so all other people remembered how they had used them, and could not bring themselves to look with reverence upon those, whom, for above four years together, they had derided and contemned.

This universal temper raised the spirits again of the king's friends, who found very many of those who had heretofore served the parliament, and been afterwards disobliged by Cromwell, very desirous to enter into amity with them, and to make a firm conjunction with them towards the king's reestablishment. Those members of the long parliament, who, after the treaty of the Isle of Wight, were by violence kept from the house, took it in great indignation, that they, upon whom the said violence was practised afterwards, which they had first countenanced upon them, should not restore them being now restored themselves, and were ready to embrace any occasion to disturb their new governors; to which they were the more encouraged by the common discourse of the soldiers; who declared, "that, if there were any commotion "in the kingdom, they would go no farther to "suppress it, than Lenthal should lead them."

Mr. Mordaunt, who had so lately his head upon the block, was more active than any man; and was so well trusted by men of all conditions, upon the courage of his former behaviour, that he had in truth very full engagements from very good men in most quarters of the kingdom, "that if the king "would assign them a day, and promise to come "to them after they were embodied, they would "not fail to appear at the day." Whereupon,

Mr. Mordaunt ventured himself to come in disguise to the king to Brussels, to give him a clear account how his business stood, and what probability there was of success, and likewise to complain of the want of forwardness in some of those upon whom the king most relied, to encourage other men, and to desire that his majesty would, by him, require them to concur with the rest. It appeared, by the account he gave, that there were very few counties in England, where there was not a formal undertaking by the most powerful men of that country, to possess themselves of some considerable place in that county; and if any of them succeeded, the opportunity would be fairer for the king to venture his own person, than he yet had had, or than he was like to have, if he suffered those who were now in the government, to be settled in it.

That which was best digested, and, in respect of the undertakers, most like to succeed, was, first the surprisal and possessing of Lynne, a maritime town, of great importance in respect of the situation, and likewise of the good affection of the gentlemen of the parts adjacent. This was undertaken by the lord Willoughby of Parham, with the consent and approbation of sir Horatio Townsend: who, being a gentleman of the greatest interest and credit in that large county of Norfolk, was able to bring in a good body of men to possess it. The former had served the parliament, and was in great credit with the presbyterians, and so less liable to suspicion; the latter had been under age till long after the end of the war, and so liable to no reproach or jealousy, yet of very worthy principles, and of a noble fortune; which he engaged

very frankly, to borrow money; and laid it out to provide arms and ammunition; and all the king's friends in those parts were ready to obey those persons in whatsoever they undertook.

Another design, which was looked upon as ripe too, was the surprisal of Gloucester, a town very advantageously situated upon the river of Severn, that would have great influence upon Bristol and Worcester; both which, persons of the best interest undertook to secure, as soon as Gloucester should be possessed; which major general Massey, who had been formerly governor thereof, and defended it too well against the king, made no question he should be able to do, having been in the town *incognito*, and conferred with his friends there, and lain concealed in the adjacent places, till the day should be appointed for the execution of it; of all which he sent the king an account; nor did there appear much difficulty in the point, there being no garrison in either of the places.

The lord Newport, Littleton, and other gentlemen of Shropshire, were ready at the same time to secure Shrewsbury; and, for the making that communication perfect, sir George Booth, a person of one of the best fortunes and interest in Cheshire, and, for the memory of his grandfather, of absolute power with the presbyterians, promised to possess himself of the city and castle of Chester. And sir Thomas Middleton, who had likewise served the parliament, and was one of the best fortune and interest in North Wales, was ready to join with sir George Booth; and both of them to unite entirely with the king's party in those parts. In the west, Arundel, Pollard, Greenvil, and the rest in Corn-

wall and Devonshire, hoped to possess Plymouth, but were sure of Exeter. Other undertakings there were in the north, by men very ready to venture all they had.

When the king received this account in gross from a person so well instructed, whereof he had by retail received much from the persons concerned, (for it was another circumstance of the looseness of the present government, that messengers went forward and backward with all security,) and likewise found by Mr. Mordaunt, that all things were now gone so far that there was no retreat, and therefore that the resolution was general, "that, though "any discovery should be made, and any persons "imprisoned, the rest would proceed as soon as "the day should be appointed by the king," his majesty resolved that he would adventure his own person, and would be ready *incognito* at Calais upon such a day of the month; and that his brother the duke of York should be likewise there, or very near, to the end that from thence, upon the intelligence of the success of that day, which was likewise then appointed, they might dispose themselves, one to one place, and the other to another.

There was in this conjuncture a very unhappy accident, which did do much harm, and might have done much more. From the death of Oliver, some of those who were in the secretest part of his affairs discerned evidently, that their new protector would never be able to bear the burden; and so thought how they might do such service to the king, as might merit from him. One who had a part in the office of secrecy, [Mr. Moreland,] sent an express to the king, to inform him of many par-

ticulars of moment, and to give him some advices, what his majesty was to do; which was reasonable and prudent to be done. He sent him word what persons might be induced to serve him, and what way he was to take to induce them to it, and what other persons would never do it, what professions soever they might make. He made offer of his service to his majesty, and constantly to advertise him of whatsoever was necessary for him to know; and, as an instance of his fidelity and his usefulness, he advertised the king of a person who was much trusted by his majesty, and constantly betrayed him; "that he had received a large pension from "Cromwell, and that he continually gave Thurlow "intelligence of all that he knew; but that it was "with so great circumspection, that he was never "seen in his presence: that in his contract he had "promised to make such discoveries, as should "prevent any danger to the state; but that he "would never endanger any man's life, nor be pro-"duced to give in evidence against any: and that "this very person had discovered the marquis of "Ormond's being in London the last year, to Crom-"well; but could not be induced to discover where "his lodging was; only undertook his journey "should be ineffectual, and that he should quickly "return; and then they might take him if they "could; to which he would not contribute." To conclude, his majesty was desired to trust this man no more, and to give his friends notice of it for their caution and indemnity.

The king, and they who were most trusted by him in his secret transactions, believed not this information: but concluded that it was contrived to

amuse him, and to distract all his affairs by a jealousy of those who were intrusted in the conduct of them. The gentleman accused [was sir Richard Willis; who] had from the beginning to the end of the war, given testimony of his duty and allegiance, and was universally thought to be superior to all temptations of infidelity. He was a gentleman, and was very well bred, and of very good parts, a courage eminently known, and a very good officer, and in truth of so general a good reputation, that, if the king had professed to have any doubt of his honesty, his friends would have thought he had received ill infusions without any ground; and he had given a very late testimony of his sincerity by concealing the marquis of Ormond, who had communicated more with him, than with any man in England, during his being there. On the other side, all the other informations and advices, that were sent by the person [who accused him], were very important, and could have no end but his majesty's service; and the offices that gentleman offered to perform for the future were of that consequence, that they could not be overvalued. This intelligence could not be sent with a hope of getting money; for the present condition of him who sent it was so good, that he expected no reward, till the king should be enabled to give it; and he who was sent in the errand was likewise a gentleman, who did not look for the charges of his journey: and how could it have been known to Cromwell, that that person had been trusted by the marquis of Ormond, if he had not discovered it himself?

In this perplexity, his majesty would not pre-

sently depart from his confidence in the gentleman accused. As to all other particulars, he confessed himself much satisfied in the information he had received; acknowledged the great service; and made all those promises which were necessary in such a case; only frankly declared, "that nothing "could convince him of the infidelity of that "gentleman, or make him withdraw his trust from "him, but the evidence of his handwriting; which "was well known." This messenger no sooner returned to London, but another was despatched with all that manifestation of the truth of what had been before informed, that there remained no more room to doubt. A great number of his letters were sent, whereof the character was well known; and the intelligence communicated was of such things as were known to very few besides that person himself.

One thing was observed throughout the whole, that he never communicated any thing in which there was a necessity to name any man who was of the king's party, and had been always so reputed. But what was undertaken by any of the presbyterian party, or by any who had been against the king, was poured out to the life. Amongst those, he gave information of Massey's design upon Gloucester, and of his being concealed in some place near the same. If at any time he named any who had been of the king's party, it was chiefly of them who were satisfied with what they had done, how little soever, and resolved to adventure no more. Whereupon very many were imprisoned in several places, and great noise of want of secrecy or treachery in the king's councils; which reproach

fell upon those who were about the person of the king.

It was a new perplexity to the king, that he knew not by what means to communicate this treachery to his friends, lest the discovery of it might likewise come to light; which must ruin a person of merit, and disappoint his majesty of that service, which must be of huge moment. In this conjuncture, Mr. Mordaunt came to Brussels, and informed his majesty of all those particulars relating to the posture his friends were in, which are mentioned before; and amongst the other orders he desired, one was, that some message might be sent to that knot of men, (whereof the accused person was one,) "who," he said, "were principally trusted by his "majesty, and were all men of honour, but so wary "and incredulous, that others were much dis-"couraged by their coldness:" and therefore wished, "that they might be quickened, and re-"quired to concur with the most forward." Hereupon the king asked him, what he thought of such a one, naming the person: Mr. Mordaunt answered, "it was of him they complained principally; "who, they thought, was the cause of all the wari-"ness in the rest; who looked upon him not only "as an excellent officer, but as a prudent and dis-"creet man; and therefore, for the most part, all "debates were referred to him; and he was so "much given to objections, and to raising diffi-"culties, and making things unpracticable, that "most men had an unwillingness to make any pro-"position to him." The king asked him, "whether "he had any suspicion of his want of honesty?" The other answered, "that he was so far from any

" such suspicion, that, though he did not take him " to be his friend, by reason of the many disputes " and contradictions frequently between them, he " would put his life into his hand to-morrow."

It was not thought reasonable, that Mr. Mordaunt should return into England with a confidence in this man; and therefore his majesty freely told him all he knew, but not the way by which he knew it, or that he had his very letters in his own hand, which would quickly have discovered how he came by them; and the king charged him " no farther to communicate with that " person, and to give his friends such caution, as " might not give a greater disturbance to his " affairs, by raising new factions amongst them, " or provoke him to do more mischief, which it " was in his power to do." But for all this there was another expedient found; for by the time Mr. Mordaunt returned to London, the person who gave the king the advertisement, out of his own wisdom, and knowledge of the ill consequence of that trust, caused papers to be posted up in several places, by which all persons were warned not to look upon such a man (who was named) as faithful to the king, but as one who betrayed all that he was trusted with; which in the general had some effect, though many worthy men still continued that intimacy with him, and communicated with him all they knew to be resolved.

It was towards the end of June that Mr. Mordaunt left Brussels, with a resolution that there should be a general rendezvous throughout England of all who would declare for the king, upon a day named, about the middle of July; there being

commissions in every county directed to six or seven known men, with authority to them to choose one to command in chief in that county, till they should make a conjunction with other forces, who had a superior commission from the king. And those commissioners had in their hands plenty of commissions under the king's hand, for regiments and governments, to distribute to such as they judged fit to receive them; which was the best model (how liable soever to exception) that, in so distracted a state of affairs, could be devised.

The king, as is said, resolved at the day appointed to be at Calais; which resolution was kept with so great secrecy at Brussels, that his majesty had left the town before it was suspected; and when he was gone, it was as little known whither he was gone; there being as much care taken to have it concealed from being known in France, as in England. Therefore, as the king went out in the morning, so the duke of York went out in the afternoon, another way: his highness's motion being without any suspicion, or notice, by reason of his command in the army. The king went attended by the marquis of Ormond, the earl of Bristol, (who was the guide, being well acquainted with the frontiers on both sides,) and two or three servants, all *incognito*, and as companions; and so they found their way to Calais; where they stayed. The duke of York, with four or five of his own menial servants, and the lord Langdale, who desired to attend his highness, went to Boulogne; where he remained with equal privacy; and they corresponded with each other.

The affairs in England had no prosperous aspect;

every post brought news of many persons of honour and quality committed to several prisons, throughout the kingdom, before the day appointed; which did not terrify the rest. The day itself was accompanied with very unusual weather at that season of the year, being the middle of July. The night before, there had been an excessive rain, which continued all the next day, with so terrible a cold high wind, that the winter had seldom so great a storm: so that the persons over England, who were drawing to their appointed rendezvous, were much dismayed, and met with many cross accidents; some mistook the place, and went some whither else, others went where they should be, and were weary of expecting those who should have been there too.

In the beginning of the night, when Massey was going for Gloucester, a troop of the army beset the house where he was, and took him prisoner; and putting him before one of the troopers well guarded, they made haste to carry him to a place where he might be secure. But that tempestuous night had so much of good fortune in it to him, that, in the darkest part of it, the troop marching down a very steep hill, with woods on both sides, he, either by his activity, or the connivance of the soldier, who was upon the same horse with him, found means, that, in the steepest of the descent, they both fell from the horse, and he disentangled himself from the embraces of the other, and, being strong and nimble, got into the woods, and so escaped out of their hands, though his design was broken.

Of all the enterprises for the seizing upon

strong places, only one succeeded; which was that undertaken by sir George Booth; all the rest failed. The lord Willoughby of Parham, and sir Horatio Townsend, and most of their friends, were apprehended before the day, and made prisoners, most of them upon general suspicions, as men able to do hurt. Only sir George Booth, being a person of the best quality and fortune of that county, of those who had never been of the king's party, came into Chester, with such persons as he thought fit to take with him, the night before: so that though the tempestuousness of the night, and the next morning, had the same effect, as in other places, to break or disorder the rendezvous, that was appointed within four or five miles of that city, yet sir George being himself there with a good troop of horse he brought with him, and finding others, though not in the number he looked for, he retired with those he had into Chester, where his party was strong enough: and sir Thomas Middleton, having kept his rendezvous, came thither to him, and brought strength enough with him to keep those parts at their devotion, and to suppress all there who had inclination to oppose them.

Then they published their declaration, rather against those who called themselves the parliament, and usurped the government by the power of the army, than owning directly the king's interest; and desiring well affected men of all conditions, especially the city of London, to join with them, in order to the calling a free parliament, for settling the government of the nation in church and state, to the determinations whereof they

would willingly submit, and lay down their arms, with those expressions, which they knew would be most acceptable to the presbyterians; but giving all countenance and reception, and all imaginable assurance to the king's party, who had all direction from the king to concur and to unite themselves to them.

What disappointments soever there were in other places, the fame of this action of these two gentlemen raised the spirits of all men. They who were at liberty renewed their former designs; and they who could not promise themselves places of refuge prepared themselves to march to Chester, if sir George Booth did not draw nearer with his army; which in truth he meant to have done, if the appointments which had been made had been observed. But when he heard that all other places failed, and of the multitude of persons imprisoned, upon whose assistance he most depended, he was in great apprehension that he had begun the work too soon; and though his numbers increased every day, he thought it best to keep the post he was in, till he knew what was like to be done elsewhere.

This fire was kindled in a place which the parliament least suspected; and therefore they were the more alarmed at the news of it; and knew it would spread far, if it were not quickly quenched; and they had now too soon use of their army, in which they had not confidence. There were many officers whom they had much rather trust than Lambert; but there was none they thought could do their business so well: so they made choice of him to march with such troops as he liked, and with the greatest expedition, to suppress this new

rebellion, which they saw had many friends. They had formerly sent for two regiments out of Ireland, which, they knew, were devoted to the republican interest, and those they appointed Lambert to join with. He undertook the charge very willingly, being desirous to renew his credit with the soldiers, who had loved to be under his command, because, though he was strict in discipline, he provided well for them, and was himself brave upon any action. He cared not to take any thing with him that might hinder his march; which he resolved should be very swift, to prevent the increase of the enemy in numbers. And he did make incredible haste; so that sir George Booth found he was within less than a day's march, before he thought he could have been half the way. Sir George himself had not been acquainted with the war, and the officers who were with him were not of one mind or humour; yet all were desirous to fight, (the natural infirmity of the nation, which could never endure the view of an enemy without engaging in a battle,) and instead of retiring into the town, which they might have defended against a much greater army than Lambert had with him, longer than he could stay before it, they marched to meet him; and were, after a short encounter, routed by him, and totally broken: so that, the next day, the gates of Chester were opened to Lambert; sir George Booth himself making his flight in a disguise; but he was taken upon the way, and sent prisoner to the Tower.

Lambert prosecuted the advantage he had got, and marched into North Wales, whither sir Thomas Middleton was retired with his troops to a strong

castle of his own; and he thought neither the man, nor the place, were to be left behind him. It was to no purpose for one man to oppose the whole kingdom, where all other persons appeared subdued. And therefore, after a day or two making show of resistance, Middleton accepted such conditions as he could obtain, and suffered his goodly house, for the strength of the situation, to be pulled down.

This success put an end to all endeavours of force in England; and the army had nothing to do but to make all persons prisoners whose looks they did not like; so that all prisons in England were filled; whilst the parliament, exalted with their conquest, consulted what persons they would execute, and how they should confiscate the rest; by means whereof, they made no doubt they should destroy all seeds of future insurrections on the behalf of the king, most of the nobility being at present in custody. And they resolved, if other evidence was wanting, that their suspicion should be their conviction.

When the king came to Calais, where he received accounts every day from England of what was transacted there, as he was much troubled with the news he received daily of the imprisonment of his friends, so he was revived with the fame of sir George Booth's being possessed of Chester, and of the conjunction between him and Middleton. They were reported to be in a much better posture than in truth they were; and the expectation of some appearance of troops in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, stood fair; whereupon the king resolved to go himself to some other part of France, from

whence he might securely transport himself into those parts of England, from whence, with least hazard, he might join himself with the troops which were in arms for him, and so went to the coast of Bretagne.

The duke of York remained at Boulogne, to expect some appearance of arms in Kent and Essex; which was still promised, as soon as the army should be drawn farther from London. In this expectation, his royal highness found an opportunity to confer with his old friend marshal Turenne; who very frankly assigned him some troops; and likewise provided vessels to transport them, if an opportunity had invited him to an engagement in any probable enterprise; and this with so much generosity and secrecy, that the cardinal should have had no notice of the preparation, till it was too late to prevent the effect thereof. But it pleased God, that, whilst his highness was providing for his longed for expedition, and when the king, after his visiting St. Maloes, was at Rochelle, in hope to find a conveniency for his transportation, the fatal news arrived in all parts of the defeat of sir George Booth, and of the total and entire suppression of all kind of opposition to the power of the parliament; which seemed now to be in as absolute possession of the government of the three nations, as ever Cromwell had been.

Struck with this dismal relation, they had nothing to do but to make what haste they could back to Brussels, and were obliged to use more than ordinary caution to get themselves out of France again, where they could not be found with

safety. The duke of York, being much nearer, came thither first; and shortly after the king returned, less dejected than might have been expected from the extreme despair of his condition, resumed a resolution he had formerly taken, to make a journey himself to the borders of Spain, to solicit more powerful supplies; the two chief ministers of the two crowns being there met at this time. And indeed his majesty preferred any peregrination before the neglect he was sure to find at Brussels, and the dry looks of the Spaniards there; who were broken into so many factions amongst themselves, that the government was hardly in a state to subsist; and the marquis of Carracena and don Alonzo had such an influence upon the counsels at Madrid, that don Juan received orders without delay to return to Spain, and to leave the government in the hands of the marquis of Carracena; which don Juan very unwillingly obeyed; and as soon as he could obtain a pass to go through France, he left those provinces, and made his journey through that kingdom towards Madrid. He was a person of a small stature, but well made, and of great vivacity in his looks; his parts very good, both natural and acquired, in fancy and judgment. And if he had not been restrained by his education, and accustomed to the pride and forms of a Spanish breeding, which likewise disposed him to laziness and taking his music, he was capable of any great employment, and would have discharged it well.

At this time an accident happened, that, as it was new, administered new hopes to raise the king's spirits; and for men to exercise their thoughts on

with variety of conjectures. The war had now continued between the two crowns of France and Spain, for near the space of thirty years, to the scandal and reproach of Christianity, and in spite of all the interposition and mediation of most of the princes of Europe; a war wantonly entered into, without the least pretence of right and justice, to comply with the pride and humour of the two favourites of the crowns, (besides the natural animosity, which will always be between the two nations,) who would try the mastery of their wit and invention, at the charge of their masters' treasure, and the blood of their subjects, against all the obligations of leagues and alliances; a war prosecuted only for war's sake, with all the circumstances of fire, sword, and rapine, to the consumption of millions of treasure, and millions of lives of noble, worthy, and honest men, only to improve the skill, and mystery, and science of destruction. All which appeared the more unnatural and the more monstrous, that this seemed to be effected and carried on by the power of a brother and sister against each other, (for half the time had been spent in the regency of the queen of France,) when they both loved, and tendered each other's good and happiness, as the best brother and sister ought to do.

It was high time to put an end to this barbarous cruel war, which the queen mother had long and passionately desired in vain. But now being more struck in years, and troubled with the infirmities of age, and the young king being of years ripe to marry, and the infanta of Spain being in that and all other respects the most competent match for

him, which would be the best, and was the only expedient to procure a peace, her majesty resolved to employ all her interest and authority to bring it to pass; and knowing well, all her desires could produce no effect, if she had not the full concurrence of the cardinal, she proposed it to him with all the warmth and all the concernment such a subject required; conjuring him "by all the good "offices she had performed towards him, that he "would not only consent to it, but take it to heart, "and put it into such a way of negociation, that it "might arrive at the issue she desired."

The cardinal used all the arguments he could, to dissuade her majesty from desiring it at this time; "that it would not be for her majesty's service; "nor was he able to bear the reproach, of being "the instrument of making a peace, at a time when "Spain was reduced to those straits, that it could "no longer resist the victorious arms of France; "that they could not fail the next summer of being "possessed of Brussels itself, and then they should "not be long without the rest of the Spanish "Netherlands; and therefore, at this time, to "propose a peace, which must disappoint them "of so sure a conquest, would not only be very "ingrateful to the army, but incense all good "Frenchmen against him, and against her majesty "herself."

The queen was not diverted from her purpose by those arguments; but proposed it to the king, and prosecuted it with the cardinal, that, as himself confessed to his intimate friends, he was necessitated either to consent to it, or to have an irreconcilable breach with her majesty; which his grati-

tude would not suffer him to choose; and thereupon he yielded; and don Antonio Pimentel from Madrid, and monsieur de Lyonne from France, so negociated this last winter in both courts, both *incognito*, making several journies backward and forward, and with that effect, that, by the end of the winter, it was published, there would be a treaty between the two crowns, and that, in the beginning of the summer of this year 1659, the two favourites, cardinal Mazarine and don Lewis de Haro, would meet, and make a treaty both for the peace and the marriage. And the marshal de Grammont was sent from the king to demand the infanta, who, when he came to Alcovendas, a place within two leagues of Madrid, left his train there, and rode as by post only, with a valet de chambre, and alighted at the palace, and went presently up to the king to demand the infanta; and so returned to Alcovendas, and afterwards made his entry as ambassador.

The cardinal was the sooner induced to this peace by the unsettled condition of England. The death of Cromwell, with whom he had concerted many things to come, had much perplexed him; yet the succession of Richard, under the advice of the same persons who were trusted by his father, pleased him well. But then the throwing him out with such circumstances, broke all his measures. He could not forget that the parliament, that now governed, were the very same men who had eluded all his application, appeared ever more inclined to the Spanish side, and had, without any colour of provocation, and when he believed they stood fair towards France, taken the French fleet, when it

could not but have relieved Dunkirk; by which that town was delivered up to the Spaniard. He knew well, that Spain did, at that instant, use all the underhand means they could to make a peace with them; and he did not believe, that the parliament would affect the continuance of that war, at so vast a charge both at sea and land; but that they would rather foment the divisions in France, and endeavour to unite the prince of Condé and the Hugonots; which would make a concussion in that kingdom; and he should then have cause to repent the having put Dunkirk into the hands of the English. These reflections disturbed him, and disposed him at last to believe, that, over and above the benefit of gratifying the queen, he should best provide for the security of France, and of himself, by making a peace with Spain.

However, he was not so sure of bringing it to pass, as to provoke or neglect England. Therefore he renewed all the promises, he had formerly made to Oliver, again to Lockhart, (who was the ambassador now of the republic,) "that he would "never make a peace without the consent and "inclusion of England;" and very earnestly desired him, and writ to that purpose to the parliament, that he might be at the treaty with him, that so they might still consult what would be best for their joint interest, from which he would never separate; insinuating to him, in broken and half sentences, "that though the treaty was necessary "to satisfy the queen, there were so many difficul-"ties in view, that he had little hope of a peace:" and, in truth, many sober men did not believe the treaty would ever produce a peace: for, besides

the great advantages which France had gotten, and that it could not be imagined that Spain would ever consent to the relinquishing all those important places to the French, which they had then in their hands by conquest, (the usual effect of peace being a restitution of all places taken in the war; which France would never permit,) there were two particulars which it was hard to find any expedient to compose, and which, notwithstanding all the preparations made by de Lyonne and Pimentel, were entirely reserved for the treaty of the two favourites; both sides having, with great obstinacy, protested against the departing from the resolution they had taken.

The two particulars were those concerning Portugal, and the prince of Condé. There could not be a greater engagement, than France had made to Portugal, never to desert it, nor to make a peace without providing that that king should quietly enjoy his government to him and his posterity, without being in the least degree subject to the yoke of Spain. And Spain was principally induced to buy a peace upon hard terms, that it might be at liberty to take revenge of Portugal; which they always reckoned they should be able to do within one year, if they had no other enemy upon them; and they would never value any peace, if that were not entirely left to them, and disclaimed by France.

On the other hand, the prince of Condé had the king of Spain's word and obligation, by the most solemn treaty that could be entered into, that he would never conclude a peace without including him, and all who adhered to him, not only to a full restitution to their honours, offices, and estates, but

with some farther recompense for the great service he had done; which was very great indeed: and nobody believed, that the cardinal would ever consent to the restoration of that prince, who had wrought him so many calamities, and brought him to the brink of destruction. With these ill presages, great preparations were made for this treaty, and the time and the place were agreed on, when and where the two great favourites should meet. Fuentarabia, a place in the Spanish dominions, very near the borders of France, the same place where Francis the First was delivered, after his long imprisonment in Spain, was agreed upon for their interview; a little river near that place parting both the kingdoms; and a little building of boards over it brought the two favourites to meet, without either of their going out of his master's dominions.

The fame of this treaty had yielded variety, and new matter to the king to consider. Both crowns had made the contention and war that was between them, the only ground and reason, why they did not give him that assistance, which, in a case so nearly relating to themselves, he might well expect; and both had made many professions, that, when it should please God to release them from that war, they would manifest to the world, that they took the king's case to be their own: so that his majesty might very reasonably promise himself some advantage and benefit from this peace, and the world could not but expect, that he would have some ambassador present to solicit on his behalf. There were so many difficulties to find a fit person, and so many greater to defray the expense of an

ambassador, that his majesty had at first resolved to find himself present in that treaty; which resolution he kept very private, though he was shortly after confirmed in it by a letter from sir Harry Bennet; by which he was informed, "that he "speaking with don Lewis about his journey to "Fuentarabia, and asking him whether he would "give him leave to wait on him thither, don Lewis "answered, that he should do well to be present; "and then asked him, why the king himself would "not be there; and two or three days after, he "told him, that if the king, with a very light train, "came *incognito* thither, for the place could not "permit them to receive him in state, after the "great difficulties of the treaty were over, he would "do all he could to induce the cardinal to concur "in what might be of convenience to his majesty." The king had before resolved to have a very little train with him, suitable to the treasure he had to defray his expenses, and to make his whole journey *incognito*, and not to be known in any place through which he was to pass. But he was troubled what he was to do with reference to France, through which he was necessarily to make his journey. How much *incognito* soever he meant to travel, it might be necessary against any accident to have a pass; yet to ask one, and be refused, would be worse than going without one. Though he expected much less from the nature and kindness of the cardinal, than from the sincerity of don Lewis de Haro, yet the former was able to do him much more good than the latter; and therefore care was to be taken that he might have no cause to find himself neglected, and that more depending upon Spain might not irreconcile France.

To extricate himself out of these perplexities, his majesty had written to the queen his mother, to entreat her, " as of herself, to desire the cardinal's " advice, whether it would not be fit for the king " to be present at the treaty; that she might send " his majesty such counsel as was proper: if he " thought well of it, she might then propose such " passes, as should seem reasonable to her." Her majesty accordingly took an opportunity to ask the question of the cardinal; who, at the very motion, told her very warmly, " that it was by no means " fit; and that it would do the king much harm;" and afterwards, recollecting himself, he wished the queen " to let the king know, that he should " rely upon him to take care of what concerned " him; which he would not fail to do, as soon as " he discerned that the treaty would produce a " peace." Her majesty acquiesced with this profession, and sent the king word, how kind the cardinal was to him; but would by no means that his majesty should think of undertaking such a journey himself; nor did the queen imagine that the king would ever think of it without a pass, and the cardinal's approbation.

When his majesty had received this account from his mother, he saw it was to no purpose to think of a pass. Nor would he depart from his former resolution; and when he was fully advertised that the favourites were met, and computed that they were well entered upon their treaty, in the very entrance into which they concluded a cessation of arms, so that all was quiet in Flanders in the month of July, the king, attended only by the marquis of Ormond, Daniel O'Neile, and two or

three other servants, together with the earl of Bristol, (though sir Harry Bennet had before informed the king, that don Lewis de Haro had particularly desired he would not bring that earl with him; whose company yet, in respect of his language, the king believed would be very convenient to him,) his majesty left Brussels *incognito*, being in truth not known there to be gone till many days after. He had indeed now more reason than ever to conceal himself in his journey, and really to apprehend being stopped if he were discovered; and therefore was not to go about by Paris, or any of those roads where he had been heretofore known; yet he allowed himself the more time, that he might in his compass see those parts of France, where he had never been before, and indeed give himself all the pleasure and divertisement, that such a journey would admit of. To that purpose he appointed the earl of Bristol to be the guide; who knew most of France, at least more than any body else did; and who always delighted to go out of the way; and Daniel O'Neile to take care that they always fared well in their lodgings; for which province no man was fitter. Thus they wheeled about by Lyons into Languedoc, and were so well pleased with the varieties in the journey, that they not enough remembered the end of it, taking their information of the progress in the treaty from the intelligence they met with in the way.

When they came near Toulouse, they found that the French court was there, which they were obliged to decline. However the king, going himself a nearer way, sent the marquis of Ormond

thither, to inform himself of the true state of the treaty, and to meet his majesty again at a place appointed, that was the direct way to Fuentarabia. The marquis went alone without a servant, that he might be the less suspected; and when he came to Toulouse, he was informed from the common discourse of the court, that the treaty was upon the matter concluded, and that the cardinal was expected there within less than a week.

It was very true, all matters of difficulty were over in less time than was conceived possible, both parties equally desiring the marriage, which could never be without the peace. The cardinal, who had much the advantage over don Lewis in all the faculties necessary for a treaty, excepting probity and punctuality in observing what he promised, had used all the arts imaginable to induce don Lewis to yield both in the point of Portugal, and what related to the prince of Condé, and his party. He enlarged upon "the desperate estate in which "Flanders was; and that they could possess themselves entirely of it in one campaign; and therefore it might easily be concluded, that nothing "but the queen's absolute authority could in such "a conjuncture have disposed the king to a treaty; "and, he hoped, that she should not be so ill "requited, as to be obliged to break the treaty, or "to oblige the king her son to consent to what "was indispensably against his honour: that if he "should recede from the interest of Portugal, no "prince or state would hereafter enter into alliance "with him: that though they were bound to insist "to have Portugal included in the peace, yet he "would be contented that a long truce might be

" made, and all acts of hostility forborne for a " good number of years, which, he said, was ne- " cessary for Spain, that they might recover the " fatigue of the long war they had sustained, before " they entered into a new one: if they would not " consent to that, then that Portugal should be left " out of the peace, and Spain at liberty to prose- " cute the war, and France at the same time to " assist Portugal, which, he said, in respect of the " distance, they should never be able to administer " in such a proportion as would be able to preserve " it from their conquest;" not without insinuation, " that, so they might not renounce the promise they " had made, they would not be over solicitous to " perform it. As to the prince of Condé, that the " catholic king was now to look upon France as " the dominion of his son in law, and to be in- " herited by his grandson, and therefore he would " consider what peril it might bring to both, if the " prince of Condé were restored to his greatness " in that kingdom, who only could disturb the " peace of it, and whose ambition was so restless, " that they could no longer enjoy peace, than " whilst he was not in a condition to interrupt it." The cardinal told him, in confidence, of several indignities offered by the prince of Condé to the person of the queen, of which her brother ought to be very sensible, and which would absolve him from any engagement he had entered into with that prince; which he would never have done, if his majesty had been fully informed of those rude transgressions. And therefore he besought don Lewis, " that the joy and triumph, which the king " and the queen would be possessed of by this

" peace and marriage, might not be clouded, and " even rendered disconsolate, by their being bound " to behold a man in their presence, who had so " often, and with so much damage and disdain, " affronted them both; but that the peace of " France might be secured by that prince's being " for ever restrained from living in it; which being " provided for, whatsoever his catholic majesty " should require in ready money, or pensions, to " enable the prince to live in his just splendour " abroad, should be consented to."

Don Lewis de Haro was a man of great temper, of a sallow complexion, hypochondriac, and never weary of hearing; thought well of what he was to say; what he wanted in acuteness he made up in wariness, and though he might omit the saying somewhat he had a good occasion to say, he never said any thing of which he had occasion to repent. He had a good judgment and understanding, and as he was without any talent of rhetoric, so he was very well able to defend himself from it. He told the cardinal, " that he knew well his master's af- " fairs needed a peace with France; and that the " accomplishing this marriage was the only way to " attain it: that the marriage was the best and the " most honourable in Christendom, and ought to " be equally desired on both sides; that his ca- " tholic majesty was sensible of his own age, and " the infirmities which attended it; and desired " nothing more than that, before his death, he " might see this peace and this marriage finished, " and made perfect; and that he was well content " to purchase the former at any price, but of his " honour; which was the only thing he preferred

" even before peace: that for Portugal, the ground-
" less rebellion there was so well known to all the
" world, that he should not go to his grave in
" peace, if he should do any thing which might
" look like a countenance, or concession to that
" title, that was only founded upon treason and
" rebellion; or if he should omit the doing any
" thing that might, with God's blessing, of which
" he could not doubt, reduce that kingdom to their
" duty, and his obedience: that his resolution was,
" as soon as this peace should be concluded, to
" apply all the force and all the treasure of his
" dominions, to the invasion of Portugal; which,
" he hoped, would be sufficient speedily to subdue
" it; and was a great part of the fruit he promised
" himself from this peace; and therefore he would
" never permit any thing to be concluded in it,
" that might leave France at liberty to assist that
" war: that the catholic king had done all he
" could, both by don Antonio Pimentel and mon-
" sieur de Lyonne, that his most Christian majesty
" might know his unalterable resolution in the
" point of Portugal, and with reference to the
" prince of Condé, before he consented to treat;
" and that he would never depart from what he
" had declared in either: that he had made a
" treaty with the prince of Condé; by which he
" had engaged himself never to desert his interest,
" nor to make a peace without providing for his
" full restitution and reparation, and of those who
" had run his fortune, and put themselves under
" his protection: that the prince had performed
" all he had undertaken to do, and had rendered
" very great service to his catholic majesty; who

" would not only rather lose Flanders, but his " crown likewise, than fail in any particular which " he was bound to make good to the prince :" and therefore he desired the cardinal " to acquiesce in " both these particulars, from which he should not " recede in a tittle; in others, he would not have " the same obstinacy."

When the cardinal found that all his art and eloquence were lost upon don Lewis's want of politeness; and that he could not bend him in the least degree in either of these important particulars, he resolved they should pay otherwise for their idol honour and punctuality; and after he had brought him to consent to the detention of all the places they had taken, as well in Luxembourg, as Flanders, and all other provinces, by which they dismembered all the Spanish dominions in those parts, and kept themselves nearer neighbours to the Hollanders, than the other desired they should be, he compelled them, though a thing very foreign to the treaty, to deliver the town of Juliers to the duke of Newburgh, without the payment of any money for what they had laid out upon the fortifications; which they could otherwise claim. It is very true, that town did belong of right to the duke of Newburgh, as part of the duchy of Juliers, which was descended to him. But it is as true, that it was preserved by Spain, from being possessed by the Hollanders many years before, and by treaty to remain in their hands, till they should receive satisfaction for all their disbursements. After which time, they erected the citadel there, and much mended the fortifications. And this dependence and expectation had kept that prince

fast to all the Spanish interest in Germany: whereas, by the wresting it now out of their hands, and frankly giving it up to the true owner, they got the entire devotion of the duke of Newburgh to France, and so a new friend to strengthen their alliance upon the Rhine, which was before inconvenient enough to Spain, by stopping the resort of any German succours into Flanders. And if at any time to come the French shall purchase Juliers from the duke of Newburgh, as upon many accidents he may be induced to part with it, they will be possessed of the most advantageous post to facilitate their enterprises upon Liege, or Cologne, or to disturb the Hollanders in Maestricht, or to seize upon Aquisgrane, an imperial town; and, indeed, to disturb the peace of Christendom.

For Portugal, it was agreed that there should not be any mention of it in the whole treaty, which the French ingenuity thought could never be called renouncing it; though there were other articles so binding, that they could not only not send them any relief or assistance, but that restrained them from sending any ambassador to them, or receiving one from them.

To the prince of Condé all things were yielded which had been insisted on; and full recompense made to such of his party as could not be restored to their offices; as president Viole, and some others: yet don Lewis would not sign the treaty, till he had sent an express to the prince of Condé, to inform him of all the particulars, and had received his full approbation. And even then, the king of Spain caused a great sum of money to be paid to him, that he might discharge all the debts

which he had contracted in Flanders, and reward his officers, who were to be disbanded; a method France did not use at the same time to their proselytes, but left Catalonia to their king's chastisement, without any provision made for don Josepho de Margarita, and others, who had been the principal contrivers of those disturbances; and were left to eat the bread of France; where it is administered to them very sparingly, without any hope of ever seeing their native country again, except they make their way thither by fomenting a new rebellion.

When all things were concluded, and the engrossments preparing, the cardinal came one morning into don Lewis's chamber with a sad countenance; and told him, "they had lost all "their pains, and the peace could not be con-"cluded." At which don Lewis, in much disturbance, asked "what the matter was?" The cardinal very composedly answered, "that it must not be; "that they two were too good catholics to do any "thing against the pope's infallibility, which "would be called in question by this peace; since "his holiness had declared, that there would be no "peace made;" as indeed he had done, after he had, from the first hour of his pontificate, laboured it for many years, and found himself still deluded by the cardinal, who had yet promised him, that, when the season was ripe for it, he should have the sole power to conclude it; so that when he heard that the two favourites were to meet, of which he had no notice, he said in the consistory, "that he was sure that cardinal Mazarine would "not make a peace." Don Lewis was glad that

there was no other objection against it; and so all the company made themselves merry at the pope's charge.

When the marquis of Ormond discovered by the information he received at Toulouse, that the treaty was so near an end, he made all possible haste to the place the king had appointed to meet at, that his majesty might lose no more time. When he came thither, he found nobody; which he imputed to the usual delays in their journey; and stayed one whole day in expectation of them; but then concluded that they were gone forward some other way, and so thought it his business to hasten to Fuentarabia, where he heard nothing of the king. Sir Harry Bennet was in great perplexity, and complained, very reasonably, that the king neglected his own business in such a conjuncture, the benefit whereof was lost by his not coming. Don Lewis seemed troubled, that the king had not come thither, whilst the cardinal and he were together. The treaty was now concluded; and though the cardinal remained still at his old quarters on the French side, under some indisposition of the gout, yet he and don Lewis were to meet no more. But don Lewis was the less troubled that the king had not come sooner, because he had found the cardinal, as often as he had taken occasion to speak of the king, very cold, and reserved; and he had magnified the power of the parliament, and seemed to think his majesty's hopes desperate; and advised don Lewis "to be wary how he em-" barked himself in an affair that had no founda-" tion; and that it was rather time for all catholics " to unite to the breaking the power and interest

" of the heretical party, wherever it was, than to " strengthen it by restoring the king, except he " would become catholic." And it is believed by wise men, that, in that treaty, somewhat was agreed to the prejudice of the protestant interest; and that, in a short time, there would have been much done against it both in France and Germany, if the measures they had there taken had not been shortly broken.

During the whole time of the treaty, Lockhart had been at Bayonne, and frequently consulted with the cardinal, and was by him brought to don Lewis twice or thrice, where they spoke of the mutual benefit that would redound to both, if a peace were settled between Spain and England. But the cardinal treated Lockhart (who was in all other occasions too hard for him) in such a manner, that, till the peace was upon the matter concluded, he did really believe it would not be made, (as appeared by some of his letters from Bayonne, which fell into the king's hands,) and to the last he was persuaded, that England should be comprehended in it, in terms to its satisfaction.

The king, the next day after he had sent the marquis of Ormond to Toulouse, received information upon the way, that the treaty was absolutely ended, and that don Lewis was returned to Madrid; to which giving credit, he concluded, that it would be to no purpose to prosecute his journey to Fuentarabia; and therefore was easily persuaded by the earl of Bristol to take the nearest way to Madrid, by entering into Spain as soon as they could; presuming that the marquis of Ormond would quickly conclude whither they were gone, and

follow his majesty. With this resolution, and upon this intelligence, they continued their journey till they came to Saragossa, the metropolis of the kingdom of Arragon. Here they received advertisement, that the treaty was not fully concluded, and that don Lewis remained still at Fuentarabia. This was a new perplexity: at last they resolved, that the king, and the earl of Bristol, who had still a mind to Madrid, should stay at Saragossa; whilst O'Neile should go to Fuentarabia, and return with direction what course they were to steer.

Don Lewis and the marquis of Ormond were in great confusion with the apprehension that some ill accident had befallen the king, when Mr. O'Neile arrived, and informed them by what accident and misintelligence the king had resolved to go to Madrid, if he had not been better informed at Saragossa; where he now remained, till he should receive farther advice. Don Lewis was in all the disturbance imaginable, when he heard the relation: he concluded that this was a trick of the earl of Bristol's; that he held some intelligence with don Juan, and intended to carry the king to Madrid, whilst he was absent, with a purpose to affront him, and in hope to transact somewhat without his privity. They were now to save and to borrow all the money they could, to defray the expenses which must be shortly made for the interview, marriage, and delivery of the infanta, and all this must be spent upon the king of England's entry and entertainment in Madrid; for a king *incognito* was never heard of in Spain. The marriage was concluded, and now another young

unmarried king must be received, and caressed in that court; which would occasion much discourse both in Spain and France. All these things his melancholy had made him revolve, nor did he conceal the trouble he endured, from the marquis of Ormond and sir Harry Bennet; who assured him, "that all that was past was by mere mistake, "and without any purpose to decline him, upon "whose friendship alone the king absolutely de-"pended;" and undertook positively, "that as "soon as his majesty should be informed of his "advice, he would make all the haste thither he "could, without thought of doing any thing else:" which don Lewis desired might be effected as soon as was possible: so O'Neile returned to Saragossa, and his majesty, without delay, made his journey from thence to Fuentarabia, with as much expedition as he could use.

The king was received according to the Spanish mode and generosity, and treated with the same respect and reverence that could be shewed to his catholic majesty himself, if he had been in that place. Don Lewis delivered all that could be said from the king, his master; "how much he was "troubled, that the condition of his affairs, and "the necessity that was upon him to make shortly "a long journey, would not permit him to invite "his majesty to Madrid, and to treat him in that "manner that was suitable to his grandeur: that "having happily concluded the peace, he had now "nothing so much in his thoughts, as how he "might be able to give or procure such assistance "as his majesty stood in need of; and that he "should never be destitute of any thing, that his

"power and interest could help him to." Don Lewis for himself made all those professions which could possibly be expected from him. He confessed, "that there was no provision made in the "treaty that the two crowns would jointly assist "his majesty; but, that he believed the cardinal "would be ready to perform all good offices to-"wards him; and that, for his own particular, his "majesty should receive good testimony of the "profound veneration he had for him."

Don Lewis intimated a wish, that his majesty could yet have some conference with the cardinal; who was, as is said, still within distance. Whereupon the king sent the marquis of Ormond to visit him, and to let him know, that his majesty had a desire to come to him, that he might have some conference with him, and receive his counsel and advice. But the cardinal would by no means admit it; said, "it would administer unseasonable "jealousy to the parliament, without any manner "of benefit to the king." He made many large professions, which he could do well, of his affection to the king; desired, "he would have patience till "the marriage should be over, which would be in "the next spring; and till then their majesties "must remain in those parts: but, as soon as that "should be despatched, the whole court would "return to Paris; and that he would not be long "there, before he gave the king some evidence of "his kindness and respect." Other answer than this the marquis could not obtain.

After his majesty had stayed as long as he thought convenient at Fuentarabia, (for he knew well that don Lewis was to return to Madrid be-

fore the king of Spain could take any resolution to begin, or order his own journey, and that he stayed there only to entertain his majesty,) he discerned that he had nothing more to do than to return to Flanders; where, he was assured, his reception should be better than it had been. So he declared his resolution to begin his return on such a day. In the short time of his stay there, the earl of Bristol, according to his excellent talent, which seldom failed him in any exigent, from as great a prejudice as could attend any man, had wrought himself so much into the good graces of all the Spaniards, that don Lewis was willing to take him with him to Madrid, and that he should be received into the service of his catholic majesty, in such a province as should be worthy of him. So that his majesty had now a less train to return with, the marquis of Ormond, Daniel O'Neile, and two or three servants.

Don Lewis, with a million of excuses that their expenses had been so great, as had wasted all their money, presented his majesty with seven thousand gold pistoles, "to defray," as he said, "the ex-"penses of his journey," with assurance, "that, "when he came into Flanders, he should find all "necessary orders for his better accommodation, "and carrying on his business." So his majesty begun his journey, and took Paris in his way to visit the queen his mother, with whom a good understanding was made upon removing all former mistakes: and, towards the end of December, he returned to Brussels in good health; where he found his two brothers, the dukes of York and Gloucester, impatiently expecting him.

The pleasure and variety of his journey, and the very civil treatment he had received from don Lewis, with the good disposition he had left the queen his mother in, had very much revived and refreshed the king's spirit, and the joy for his return dispersed the present clouds. But he had not been long at Brussels, before he discerned the same melancholy and despair in the countenances of most men, which he had left there; and though there had some changes happened in England, which might reasonably encourage men to look for greater, they had so often been disappointed in those expectations, that it was a reproach to any man to think that any good could come from thence.

It was a great blessing of God that this melancholic conjuncture happened in the winter, that men could not execute all the thoughts and purposes the unhappy state of affairs suggested to them. The king could not make his journey through Germany till the spring, and in the mean time men thought of providing a religion, as well as other conveniences, that might be grateful to those people and places, where and with whom they were like to reside. The protestant religion was found to be very unagreeable to their fortune, and they exercised their thoughts most how to get handsomely from it; and if it had not been for the king's own steadiness, of which he gave great indications, men would have been more out of countenance to have owned the faith they were of; and many made little doubt, but that it would shortly be very manifest to the king, that his restoration depended wholly upon a conjunction of catholic

princes, who could never be united, but on the behalf of catholic religion.

The best the king could now look for seemed to be a permission to remain in Flanders, with a narrow assignation for his bread, which was a melancholic condition for a king; nor could that be depended upon; for there were secret approaches made, both from England and Spain, towards a peace; and the Spaniard had great reason to desire it, that he might meet with no obstruction in his intended conquest of Portugal. And what influence any peace might have upon his majesty's quiet, might reasonably be apprehended. However, there being no war in Flanders, the dukes of York and Gloucester could no longer remain in an unactive course of life; and the duke of York had a great family, impatient to be where they might enjoy plenty, and where they might be absent from the king. And therefore, when the marquis of Carracena at this time brought the duke of York a letter from the king of Spain, that he would make him el admirante del oceano, his highness was exceedingly pleased with it, and those about him so transported with the promotion, that they thought any man to be a declared enemy to their master, who should make any objection against his accepting it. And when they were told, "that it "was not such a preferment, that the duke should "so greedily embrace it, before he knew what con-"ditions he should be subject to, and what he "might expect from it: that the command had "been in a younger son of the duke of Savoy, "and at another time in a younger son of the "duke of Florence, who both grew quickly weary

" of it; for whatever title they had, the whole " command was in the Spanish officers under " them; and that, if the duke were there, he " might possibly have a competent pension to live " on shore, but would never be suffered to go to " sea under any title of command, till he first " changed his religion;" all this had no signification with them; but they prevailed with his royal highness, to return his consent, and acceptation of the office, by the same courier who brought the letter.

The marquis of Carracena likewise told the king, " that he had received orders to put all things in " a readiness for his expedition into England, to- " wards which he would add three thousand men " to those troops which his majesty already had." At the same time the lord Jermyn and Mr. Walter Mountague came to the king from Paris, with many compliments from the cardinal, " that when " there should be a peace between the northern " kings," (for Sweden and Denmark were now in a war,) " France would declare avowedly for the " king; but in the mean time they could only " assist him underhand; and to that purpose they " had appointed three thousand men to be ready " on the borders of France, to be transported out " of Flanders, and thirty thousand pistoles to be " disposed of by the king to advance that expedi- " tion." Sir Harry Bennet had sent from Madrid a copy of the Spanish orders to the marquis of Carracena; by which he was not (as he had told the king) to add three thousand men to the king's troops, but to make those which his majesty had amount to the number of three thousand. But

that which was strangest, the king must be obliged to embark them in France. The men the cardinal would provide must be embarked in Flanders; and they who were to be supplied by Spain must be embarked in France. So that, by these two specious pretences and proffers, the king could only discern, that they were both afraid of offending England, and would offer nothing of which his majesty could make any use, before they might take such a prospect of what was like to come to pass, that they might new form their counsels. And the lord Jermyn and Mr. Mountague had so little expectation of England, that they concurred both in opinion, that the duke of York should embrace the opportunity that was offered from Spain; to which they made no doubt the queen would give her consent.

In this state of despair the king's condition was concluded to be, about the beginning of March, old style, 1659: and though his majesty, and those few intrusted by him, had reason to believe that God would be more propitious to him, from some great alterations in England; yet such imagination was so looked upon as mere dotage, that the king thought not fit to communicate the hopes he had, but left all men to cast about for themselves, till they were awakened and confounded by such a prodigious act of providence, as God hath scarce vouchsafed to any nation, since he led his own chosen people through the Red sea.

After the defeat of Booth and Middleton, and the king's hopes so totally destroyed, the parliament thought of transporting the loyal families into the Barbadoes and Jamaica, and other planta-

tions, lest they might hereafter produce in England children of their father's affections; and, by degrees, so to model their army that they might never give them more trouble. They had sent Lambert a thousand pounds to buy him a jewel; which he employed better by bestowing it among the officers, who might well deserve it of him. This bounty of his was quickly known to the parliament; which concluded, that he intended to make a party in the army, that should more depend upon him than upon them. And this put them in mind of his former behaviour; and that it was by his advice, that they were first dissolved, and that he in truth had helped to make Cromwell protector, upon his promise that he should succeed him; and that he fell from him only because he had frustrated him of that expectation. They therefore resolved to secure him from doing farther harm, as soon as he should come to the town.

Lambert, instead of making haste to them, found some delays in his march, (as if all were not safe,) to seize upon the persons of delinquents. He was well informed of their good purposes towards him, and knew that the parliament intended to make a peace with all foreigners, and then to disband their army, except only some few regiments, which should consist only of persons at their own devotion. He foresaw what his portion then must be, and that all the ill he had done towards them would be remembered, and the good forgotten. He therefore contrived a petition, which was signed by the inferior officers of his army; in which they desired the parliament, "that they might be governed, as all "armies used to be, by a general, who might be

" amongst them, and other officers, according to " their qualities, subordinate to him." The address was entitled, *The humble petition and proposals of the army, under the command of the lord Lambert, in the late northern expedition.*

They made a large recapitulation of " the many " services they had done, which they thought were " forgotten; and that now lately they had pre- " served them from an enemy, which, if they had " been suffered to grow, would, in a short time, " have overrun the kingdom: and engaged the " nation in a new bloody war; to which too many " men were still inclined;" and concluded with a desire, " that they would commit the army to " Fleetwood, as general; and that they would " appoint Lambert to be major general." Fleetwood was a weak man, but very popular with all the praying part of the army; a man, whom the parliament would have trusted, if they had not resolved to have no general, being as confident of his fidelity to them, as of any man's; and Lambert knew well he could govern him, as Cromwell had done Fairfax, and then in the like manner lay him aside. This petition was sent by some trusty person to some colonels of the army, in whom Lambert had confidence, to the end that they should deliver it to Fleetwood, to be by him presented to the parliament. He resolved first to consult with some of his friends for their advice; and so it came to the notice of Haslerig, who immediately informed the parliament " of a rebellion growing in the army, " which, if not suppressed, would undo all they " had done." They, as they were always apt to take alarms of that kind, would not have the

patience to expect the delivery of the petition, but sent to Fleetwood for it. He answered, he had it not, but that he had delivered it to such an officer, whom he named. The officers were presently sent for, but could not be found till the afternoon; when they produced the petition. Whereupon the parliament, that they might discountenance and exclude any address of that kind, passed a vote, "that the having more general "officers was a thing needless, chargeable, and "dangerous to the commonwealth."

This put the whole army into that distemper, that Lambert could wish it in; and brought the council of officers to meet again more avowedly, than they had done since the reviving of the parliament. They prepared a petition and representation to the parliament; in which they gave them many good words, and assured them of "their fidelity to-"wards them; but yet that they would so far take "care for their own preservation, that they would "not be at the mercy of their enemies;" and implied, that they had likewise privileges, which they would not quit.

The parliament, that was governed by Vane and Haslerig, (the heads of the republic party, though of very different natures and understandings,) found there would be no compounding this dispute amicably, but that one side must be suppressed. They resolved therefore to take away all hope of subsistence from the army, if they should be inclined to make any alteration in the government by force. In order thereunto they declared, "that it "should be treason in any person whatsoever to "raise, levy, and collect money, without consent in

" parliament." Then they made void all acts for custom and excise; and by this there was nothing left to maintain the army, except they would prey upon the people, which could not hold long. Next they cashiered Lambert, and eight other principal officers of the army; with whom they were most offended, and conferred their regiments and commands upon other persons, in whom they could confide; and committed the whole government of the army into the hands of seven commissioners; who were, Fleetwood, (whom they believed to have a great interest in the army, and so durst not totally disoblige him,) Ludlow, (who commanded the army in Ireland,) Monk, (who was their general in Scotland,) Haslerig, Walton, Morley, and Overton; who were all upon the place.

The army was too far engaged to retire, and it was unskilfully done by the parliament to provoke so many of them, without being sure of a competent strength to execute their orders. But they had a great presumption upon the city; and had already forgotten, how the army baffled it about a dozen years before, when the parliament had much more reputation, and the army less terror. The nine cashiered officers were resolved not to part with their commands, nor would the soldiers submit to their new officers; and both officers and soldiers consulted their affairs so well together, that they agreed to meet at Westminster the next morning, and determine to whose lot it would come to be cashiered.

The parliament, to encounter this design, sent their orders to those regiments whose fidelity they were confident of, to be the next morning at

Westminster to defend them from force; and likewise sent into the city to draw down their militia. Of the army, the next morning, there appeared two regiments of foot, and four troops of horse; who were well armed, and ranged themselves in the Palace-yard, with a resolution to oppose all force that should attempt the parliament. Lambert intended they should have little to do there; and divided his party in the army to the several places by which the city militia could come to Westminster, with order, "that they should suffer "none to march that way, or to come out of the "gates;" then placed himself with some troops in King-street, to expect when the speaker would come to the house; who, at his accustomed hour, came, in his usual state, guarded with his troop of horse. Lambert rode up to the speaker, and told him, "there was nothing to be done at Westmin-"ster," and therefore advised him "to return back "again to his house:" which he refused to do, and endeavoured to proceed, and called to his guard to make way. Upon which Lambert rode to the captain, and pulled him off his horse; and bid major Creed, who had formerly commanded that troop, to mount into his saddle; which he presently did. Then he took away the mace, and bid major Creed conduct Mr. Lenthal to his house. Whereupon they made his coachman turn, and without the least contradiction the troop marched very quietly, till he was alighted at his own house; and then disposed of themselves as their new captain commanded them.

When they had thus secured themselves from any more votes, Lambert sent to those who had

been ordered into the Palace-yard by the parliament, to withdraw to their quarters; which they refused to do; at which he smiled, and bid them then to stay there; which they did till towards the evening: but then finding themselves laughed at, that they had nothing to do, and that the parliament sat not, they desired that they might repair to their quarters; which they were appointed to do. But their officers were cashiered; and such sent to command as Lambert thought fit; who found all submission and obedience from the soldiers, though nobody yet knew who had power to command them. There was no parliament, nor any officer in the army who was by his commission above the degree of a colonel, nor had any of them power to command more than his own regiment.

Whereupon the officers of the army meet together and declare, "that the army finding itself "without a general, or other general officers, had "themselves made choice of Fleetwood to be their "general, and of Lambert to be their major gene-"ral, and of Desborough to be commissary general "of the horse; and that they bound themselves to "obey them in their several capacities, and to "adhere to and defend them." Upon the publishing this declaration, they assumed their several provinces; and the whole army took commissions from their new general; and were as much united, as if they were under Cromwell; and looked upon it as a great deliverance, that they should no more be subject to the parliament; which they all detested.

But these generals were not at ease; they knew

well upon what slippery ground they stood: the parliament had stopped all the channels in which the revenue was to run; put an end to all payments of custom and excise; and to revive these impositions, by which the army might receive their wages, required another authority than of the army itself. The divisions in the parliament had made the outrage that was committed upon it less reproachful. Vane, who was much the wisest man, found he could never make that assembly settle such a government as he affected, either in church or state: and Haslerig, who was of a rude and stubborn nature, and of a weak understanding, concurred only with him in all the fierce counsels, which might more irrecoverably disinherit the king, and root out his majesty's party: in all other things relating to the temporal or ecclesiastical matters, they were not only of different judgments, but of extraordinary animosity against each other.

Vane was a man not to be described by any character of religion; in which he had swallowed some of the fancies and extravagances of every sect or faction; and was become (which cannot be expressed by any other language than was peculiar to that time) *a man above ordinances*, unlimited and unrestrained by any rules or bounds prescribed to other men, by reason of his perfection. He was a perfect enthusiast; and, without doubt, did believe himself inspired; which so far corrupted his reason and understanding, (which in all matters without the verge of religion was inferior to that of few men,) that he did at some time believe, he was the person deputed to reign over the saints upon earth for a thousand years.

Haslerig was, as to the state, perfectly republican; and as to religion, perfectly presbyterian: and so he might be sure never to be troubled with a king or a bishop, was indifferent to other things; only he believed the parliament to be the only government that would infallibly keep those two out; and his credit in the house was greater than the other's; which made Vane less troubled at the violence that was used, (though he would never advise it,) and appear willing enough to confer and join with those who would find any other hinge to hang the government upon: so he presently entered into conversation with those of the army, who were most like to have authority.

A model of such a government, as the people must acquiesce in, and submit to, would require very much agitation, and very long time; which the present conjuncture would not bear: nor were there enough of one mind, to give great authority to their counsels. In this they could agree, which might be an expedient towards more ripe resolutions, "that a number of persons should be chosen, "who, under the style of a committee of safety, "should assume the present entire government, "and have full power to revive all such orders, "or to make new, which might be necessary for "raising of money, or for doing any thing else "which should be judged for the peace and safety "of the kingdom; and to consider and determine, "what form of government was fit to be erected, "to which the nation was to submit."

To this new invention, how wild soever, they believed the people would be persuaded, with the assistance of the army, to pay a temporary obedi-

ence, in hope of another settlement speedily to ensue. They agreed that the number of this committee of safety should consist of three and twenty persons; six officers of the army, whereof Fleetwood, Lambert, and Desborough were three; Ireton, lord mayor of London, and Tichburn, the two principal officers of the militia of the city, with four or five more citizens of more private names; but men tried, and faithful to the republic interest, and not like to give any countenance to presbyterians, (for they were very jealous of that party generally,) besides three or four others of those who had been the king's judges, with Vane, and Whitlock, whom they made keeper of their great seal.

Thus having chosen each other, and agreed that they should exercise the whole legislative power of the nation, and proclaimed themselves *the committee of safety for the kingdom*, and required all people to pay them obedience, and issued out their warrants for all things which they thought good for themselves, to which there appeared a general submission and acquiescence, that they might be sure to receive no disturbance from those of their own tribe in any parts, they sent colonel Cobbet to Scotland, to persuade general Monk to a concurrence with them; and, because they were not confident of him, (there being great emulation between him and Lambert,) to work upon as many of his officers as he could; there being many in that army of whose affections they were well assured; and, at the same time, they sent another colonel into Ireland, to dispose the army there to a submission to their power and authority.

Before the parliament was routed, they discerned what Lambert's intrigues would shortly produce; and therefore had writ to Monk, "that he would "take care of his army, lest it should be corrupted "against him, which they knew was endeavour-"ing;" and Haslerig, who had some friendship with him, writ particularly to him, "to continue "firm to the parliament;" and to assure him, "that before Lambert should be able to be near "him to give him any trouble, he would give him "other divertisement." And some time after Lambert had acted that violence upon the speaker, so that they could meet no more, Haslerig, and Morley, two of the commissioners of the government of the army, went to Portsmouth, where colonel Whetham the governor was their friend, and devoted to the presbyterian-republican party; for that distinction was now grown amongst them; others, and the most considerable of that party, professing, "that they very much desired "monarchical government, and the person of the "king, so that they might have him without epi-"scopacy, and enjoy the lands of the church;" which they had divided among them. They were well received at Portsmouth; and that they might be without any disturbance there, the governor turned all such officers and soldiers out of the town, who were suspected to be, or might be made of the party of the army; and colonel Morley, whose interest was in Sussex, easily drew in enough of his friends, to make them very secure in their garrison; which the committee of safety thought would be quickly reduced, if all the rest of the kingdom were at their devotion; nor did

the matter itself much trouble them; for they knew that Haslerig would never be induced to serve the king, whose interest only could break all their measures.

That which gave them real trouble was, that they received bold letters from Monk, about the end of October; who presumed to censure and find fault with what they had done, in using such force and violence to the parliament, from whom they had all their power and authority; and shortly after they heard that he had possessed himself of Berwick. But that which troubled them most was, that as soon as Cobbet came into Scotland, he was committed close prisoner to Edinburgh castle; and that Monk used extraordinary diligence to purge his army, and turned all the fanatics, and other persons who were supposed by him to have any inclination to Lambert and his party, both out of the army and the kingdom; sending them under a guard into Berwick, and from thence dismissing them into England, under the penalty of death, if they were ever after found in Scotland. This was an alarm worthy of their fear, and evidence enough, that they were never to expect Monk to be of their party: besides that they had always looked upon him as entirely devoted to the person of Cromwell; otherwise, without obligation to any party or opinion, and more like to be seduced by the king, than any man who had authority in the three kingdoms: therefore they resolved to send Lambert with their whole army into the north, that he might at least stop him in any march he should think of making; reserving only some troops to send to Portsmouth, if not to reduce it, at least

to hinder the garrison there from making incursions into the two neighbour counties of Sussex and Hampshire, where they had many friends.

Whilst all preparations were making for the army to march towards Scotland, the committee of safety resolved once more to try if they could induce Monk to a conjunction with them; and to that purpose they sent to him a committee of such persons as they thought might be grateful to him; of whom one was his wife's brother, with offers of any thing he could desire of advantage to himself, or for any of his friends. He received these men with all imaginable civility and courtesy, making great professions, "that he desired nothing more, "than to unite himself and his army with that of "England, provided that there might be a lawful "power, to which they might all be subject: but "that the force that had been used upon the par-"liament was an action of such a nature, that was "destructive to all government, and that it would "be absolutely necessary to restore that to its "freedom, rights, and privileges; which being "done, he would use all the instance and credit "he had to procure an act of pardon and oblivion, "for all that had been done amiss; and this would "unite both parliament and army for the public "safety, which was apparently threatened and "shaken by this disunion." He added, "that he "so much desired peace and union, and so little "thought of using force, that he would appoint "three officers of his army, Wilks, Clobery, and "Knight, to go to London, and treat with the "committee of safety, of all particulars necessary "thereunto." When the persons sent from London

gave an account of their reception, and of the great professions the general made, and his resolution to send a committee to treat upon the accommodation, the committee of safety was very well pleased, and concluded, that the fame of their army's march had frighted him: so that, as they willingly embraced the overture of a treaty, they likewise appointed Lambert to hasten his march, and to make no stay, till he should come to Newcastle. All which he observed with great punctuality and expedition, his army still increasing till he came thither.

General Monk was a gentleman of a very good extraction, of a very ancient family in Devonshire, always very loyally affected. Being a younger brother, he entered early into the life and condition of a soldier, upon that stage where some of all Europe then acted, between the Spaniard and the Dutch; and had the reputation of a very good foot-officer in the lord Vere's regiment in Holland, at the time when he assigned it to the command of colonel Goring. When the first troubles begun in Scotland, Monk, and many other officers of the nation, left the Dutch service, and betook themselves to the service of the king. In the beginning of the Irish rebellion, he was sent thither, with the command of the lord Leicester's own regiment of foot, (who was then lieutenant of Ireland,) and continued in that service with singular reputation of courage and conduct. When the war broke out in England between the king and the parliament, he fell under some discountenance, upon a suspicion of an inclination to the parliament; which proceeded from his want of bitterness in his discourses against them, rather than from any inclination to-

wards them; as appeared by his behaviour at Nantwich, where he was taken prisoner, and remained in the Tower till the end of the war. For though his behaviour had been such in Ireland, when the transportation of the regiment from thence, to serve the king in England, was in debate, that it was evident enough he had no mind his regiment should be sent on that expedition, and his answer to the lord of Ormond was so rough and doubtful, (having had no other education but Dutch and Devonshire,) that he thought not fit to trust him, but gave the command of the regiment to Harry Warren, the lieutenant colonel of it, an excellent officer, generally known, and exceedingly beloved where he was known; yet when those regiments were sent to Chester, and there were others at the same time sent to Bristol, and with them Monk was sent prisoner, and from Bristol to the king at Oxford, where he was known to many persons of quality, (and his eldest brother being at the same time most zealous in the king's service in the west, and most useful,) his professions were so sincere, (he being, throughout his whole life, never suspected of dissimulation,) that all men there thought him very worthy of all trust; and the king was willing to send him into the west, where the gentlemen had a great opinion of his ability to command. But he desired that he might serve with his old friends and companions; and so, with the king's leave, made all haste towards Chester; where he arrived the very day before the defeat at Nantwich; and though his lieutenant colonel was very desirous to give up the command again to him, and to receive his orders, he would by no

means at that time take it, but chose to serve, as a volunteer, in the first rank, with a pike in his hand; and was the next day, as was said, taken prisoner with the rest, and with most of the other officers sent to Hull, and shortly after from thence to the Tower of London.

He was no sooner there, than the lord Lisle, who had great kindness for him, and good interest in the parliament, with much importunity persuaded him to take a commission in that service, and offered him a command superior to what he had ever had before; which he positively and disdainfully refused to accept, though the straits he suffered in prison were very great, and he thought himself not kindly dealt with, that there was neither care for his exchange, nor money sent for his support. But there was all possible endeavour used for the first, by offering several officers of the same quality for his exchange; which was always refused; there having been an ordinance made, "that no officer who had been transported out of "Ireland should ever be exchanged;" so that most of them remained still in prison with him in the Tower, and the rest in other prisons; who all underwent the same hardships by the extreme necessity of the king's condition, which could not provide money enough for their supply; yet all was done towards it that was possible.

When the war was at an end, and the king a prisoner, Cromwell prevailed with Monk, for his liberty and money, which he loved heartily, to engage himself again in the war of Ireland. And, from that time, Monk continued very firm to Cromwell; who was liberal and bountiful to him,

and took him into his entire confidence; and after he had put the command of Scotland into his hands, he feared nothing from those quarters; nor was there any man in either of the armies, upon whose fidelity to himself Cromwell more depended. And those of his western friends, who thought best of him, thought it to no purpose to make any attempt upon him whilst Cromwell lived. But as soon as he was dead, Monk was generally looked upon as a man more inclined to the king, than any other in great authority, if he might discover it without too much loss or hazard. His elder brother had been entirely devoted to the king's service; and all his relations were of the same faith. He himself had no fumes of religion to turn his head, nor any credit with, or dependence upon, any who were swayed by those trances; only he was cursed after a long familiarity to marry a woman of the lowest extraction, the least wit, and less beauty; who, taking no care for any other part of herself, had deposited her soul with some presbyterian ministers, who disposed her to that interest. She was a woman, *nihil muliebre præter corpus gerens*, so utterly unacquainted with all persons of quality of either sex, that there was no possible approach to him by her.

He had a younger brother, a divine, who had a parsonage in Devonshire, and had, through all the ill times, carried himself with singular integrity; and, being a gentleman of a good family, was in great reputation with all those who constantly adhered to the king. Sir Hugh Pollard and sir John Greenvil, who had both friendship for the general,

and old acquaintance, and all confidence in his brother, advised with him, "whether, since Crom-"well was now gone, and in all reason it might be "expected that his death would be attended with "a general revolution, by which the king's in-"terest would be again disputed, he did not be-"lieve, that the general might be wrought upon, "in a fit conjuncture, to serve the king, in which, "they thought, he would be sure to meet with a "universal concurrence from the whole Scottish "nation." The honest clergyman thought the overture so reasonable, and wished so heartily it might be embraced, that he offered himself to make a journey to his brother into Scotland, upon pretence of a visit, (there having been always a brotherly affection performed between them,) and directly to propose it to him. Pollard and Greenvil informed the king of this design; and believed well themselves of what they wished so much, and desired his majesty's approbation and instruction. The king had reason to approve it; and sent such directions as he thought most proper for such a negociation. Whereupon his brother begun his journey towards Edinburgh, where the general received him well. But after he had stayed some time there, and found an opportunity to tell him on what errand he came, he found him to be so far from the temper of a brother, that after infinite reproaches for his daring to endeavour to corrupt him, he required him to leave that kingdom, using many oaths to him, that if he ever returned to him with the same proposition, he would cause him to be hanged; with which the poor man was so ter-

rified, that he was glad when he was gone, and never had the courage after to undertake the like employment.

And at that time there is no question the general had not the least thought or purpose to contribute to the king's restoration, the hope whereof he believed to be desperate; and the disposition that did grow in him afterwards, did arise from those accidents which fell out, and even obliged him to undertake that which proved so much to his profit and glory. And yet from this very time, his brother being known, and his journey taken notice of, it was generally believed in Scotland that he had a purpose to serve the king; which his majesty took no pains to disclaim, either there or in England.

Upon the several sudden changes in England, and the army's possessing itself of the entire government, Monk saw he should be quickly overrun and destroyed by Lambert's greatness, of which he had always great emulation, if he did not provide for his own security. And therefore when he heard of his march towards the north, he used all inventions to get time, by entering into treaties, and in hope that there would appear some other party that would own and avow the parliament's interest, as he had done: nor did he then manifest to have more in his imagination, than his own profit and greatness, under the establishment of that government.

When he heard of Lambert's being past York, and his making haste to Newcastle, and had purged ont of his army all those whose affections and fidelity were suspected by him, he called the states of

Scotland together; which he had subdued to all imaginable tameness, though he had exercised no other tyranny over them than was absolutely necessary to reduce the pride and tyranny of that people to an entire submission to that tyrannical yoke. In all his other carriage towards them, but what was in order to that end, he was friendly and companionable enough; and as he was feared by the nobility, and hated by the clergy, so he was not unloved by the common people, who received more justice and less oppression from him, than they had been accustomed to under their own lords. When this convention appeared before him, he told them, "that he had received a call from heaven "and earth, to march with his army into England, "for the better settlement of the government "there; and though he did not intend his absence "should be long, yet he foresaw that there might "be some disturbance of the peace which they "enjoyed; and therefore he expected, and desired, "that, in any such occasion, they would be ready "to join with the forces he left behind in their "own defence." In the second place, which was indeed all he cared for from them, he very earnestly pressed them, "that they would raise him a present "sum of money, for supplying the necessities of "the army, without which it could not well march "into England."

From the time that he had settled his government in that kingdom, he had shewed more kindness to, and used more familiarity with, such persons as were most notorious for affection to the king, as finding them a more direct and punctual people than the rest: and when these men resorted

to him upon this convention, though they could draw nothing from him of promise, or intimation to any such purpose, yet he was very well content they should believe that he carried with him very good inclinations to the king; by which imagination of theirs, he received great advantage: for they gave him a twelvemonth's tax over the kingdom; which complied with his wish, and partly enabled him to draw his army together. And after he had assigned those whom he thought fit to leave behind him, and afterwards put them under the command of major general Morgan, he marched with the rest to Berwick; where a good part of his horse and foot expected him; having put an end to his treaty at London, and committed colonel Wilks, one of them, upon his return to Scotland, for having consented to something prejudicial to him, and expressly contrary to his instructions. However he desired to gain farther time, and agreed to another treaty to be held at Newcastle; which, though he knew it would be governed by Lambert, was like not to be without some benefit to himself, because it would keep up the opinion in the committee of safety, that he was inclined to an accommodation of peace.

It was towards the end of November, that Lambert with his army arrived at Newcastle, where he found the officers and soldiers whom Monk had cashiered; and who, he persuaded the people, had deserted Monk, for his infidelity to the commonwealth, and that most of those, who yet stayed with him, would do so too, as soon as he should be within distance to receive them. But he now found his confidence had carried him too far, and that he

was at too great a distance to give that relief to his committee of safety, which it was like to stand in need of. Haslerig and Morley were now looked upon, as the persons invested with the authority of parliament, whose interest was supported by them; and the officer, who was sent by the committee of safety to restrain them in Portsmouth, or rather to restrain persons from resorting to them, found himself deserted by more than half his soldiers; who declared, "that they would serve the parliament," and so went into Portsmouth; and another officer, who was sent with a stronger party to second them, discovering or fomenting the same affections in his soldiers, very frankly carried them to the same place: so that they were now grown too numerous to be contained within that garrison, but were quartered to be in readiness to march whither their generals, Haslerig and Morley, would conduct them.

The city took new courage from hence; and what the masters durst not publicly own, the apprentices did, their dislike of the present government; and flocking together in great multitudes, declared, "that they would have a free parlia-"ment." And though colonel Hewson, (a bold fellow, who had been an ill shoemaker, and afterwards clerk to a brewer of small beer,) who was left to guard the committee of safety, suppressed that commotion by marching into the city, and killing some of the apprentices, yet the loss of that blood inflamed the city the more against the army; which, they said, "was only kept on foot to murder "the citizens." And it was said, they caused a bill of indictment to be prepared against Hewson

for those murders. The common council appeared every day more refractory, and refused to concur in any thing that was proposed to them by the committee of safety; which begun to be universally abhorred, as like to be the original of such another tyranny as Cromwell had erected, since it wholly depended upon the power and spirit of the army: though, on the other hand, the committee protested and declared to them, "that there should "be a parliament called to meet together in "February next, under such qualifications and re-"strictions, as might be sure to exclude such per-"sons who would destroy them." But this gave no satisfaction, every man remembering the parliament that had been packed by Cromwell.

But that which broke the heart of the committee of safety, was the revolt of their favourite vice-admiral Lawson, a man at that time appearing at least as much republican, as any amongst them; as much an independent, as much an enemy to the presbyterians and to the covenant, as sir Harry Vane himself; and a great dependent upon sir Harry Vane; and one whom they had raised to that command in the fleet, that they might be sure to have the seamen still at their devotion. This man, with his whole squadron, came into the river, and declared for the parliament; which was so unexpected, that they would not believe it; but sent sir Harry Vane, and two others of great intimacy with Lawson, to confer with him; who, when they came to the fleet, found sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and two others, members of the parliament, who had so fully prepossessed him, that he was deaf to all their charms; and told

them, "that he would submit to no authority but "that of the parliament."

Upon the fame of this, Haslerig and Morley resolved with their troops to leave Portsmouth, and to march towards London, where their friends now prevailed so much. And the news of this march raised new thoughts in those soldiers who had been left by Lambert to execute any orders which they should receive from the committee of safety. The officers of these regiments had been cashiered by the council of officers, or the committee of safety, for adhering to the parliament; and their commands having been given to other men, who had been discountenanced by the parliament, the regiments for a time appeared as much confirmed in the interest of the army, as could be wished. But these cashiered officers, upon so great revolutions in the city and the navy, and the news of the advance of Haslerig and Morley, resolved to confer with their old soldiers, and try whether they had as much credit with them as their new officers; and found so much encouragement, that, at a time appointed, they put themselves into the heads of their regiments, and marched with them into the field; whence, after a short conference together, and renewing vows to each other never more to desert the parliament, they all marched into Chancery-lane to the house of the speaker; and professed their resolution to live and die with the parliament, and never more to swerve from their fidelity to it.

Lambert, upon the first news of the froward spirit in the city, had sent back Desborough's regiment; which was now marched as near London as

St. Alban's; where, hearing what their fellows at Westminster, with whom they were to join, had done, they resolved not to be the last in their submission; but declared that they likewise were for the parliament; and gave the speaker notice of their obedience. In all these several tergiversations of the soldiers, general Fleetwood remained still in consultations with the committee of safety; and when any intelligence was brought of any murmur amongst the soldiers, by which a revolt might ensue, and he was desired to go amongst them to confirm them, he would fall upon his knees to his prayers, and could hardly be prevailed with to go to them. And when he was amongst them, and in the middle of any discourse, he would invite them all to prayers, and put himself upon his knees before them: and when some of his friends importuned him to appear more vigorous in the charge he had, without which they must be all destroyed, they could get no other answer from him, than "that God had spit in his face, and "would not hear him:" so that men ceased to wonder why Lambert had preferred him to the office of general, and been content with the second command for himself.

Lenthall the speaker, upon this new declaration of the soldiers, recovered his spirit, and went into the city, conferred with the lord mayor and aldermen, and declared to them, "that the parliament "would meet (though not immediately) within very "few days." For, as the members were not many, who were alive, and suffered to meet as the parliament, so they were now dispersed into several places. Then he went to the Tower, and, by his

own authority, removed the lieutenant, who had been confirmed there by the committee of safety; and put sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and other members of the parliament, into the government and command of the Tower.

All things being in this good order, he and the members met again together at Westminster, on December the 26th, and assumed the government of the three kingdoms, out of which they had been twice before cast, with so much reproach and infamy. As soon as they came together, they repealed their act against the payment of excise and customs; and put those collections into the state they had been formerly in, that they might be sure not to be without money to pay their proselyte forces, and to carry on their other expenses. Then they appointed commissioners to direct the quarters into which the army should be put; and made an order, that all the troops under the command of Lambert, without sending any direction to him, should repair to those quarters to which they were assigned.

This man was now in a disconsolate condition: as Monk approached nearer to him, very many of his soldiers deserted him, and went to the other. The lord Fairfax had raised forces, and possessed himself of York, without declaring any thing of his purpose. And this last order of the parliament so entirely stripped Lambert of his army, that there remained not with him above one hundred horse; all the rest returned to their quarters with all quietness and resignation; and himself was some time after committed to the Tower. The rest of the officers of the army, who had been formerly ca-

shiered by the parliament, and had resumed their commands that they might break it, were again dismissed from their charges, and committed prisoners to their own houses. Sir Harry Vane, and divers other members of the house who had concurred with the committee of safety, were likewise confined to their own houses: so that the parliament seemed now again possessed of a more absolute authority than ever it had been, and to be without any danger of opposition or contradiction.

The other changes and fluctuations had still administered some hopes to the king, and the daily breaking out of new animosities amongst the chief ministers of the former mischiefs, disposed men to believe that the government might at last rest upon the old foundation. Men expected, that a very sharp engagement between Lambert and Monk might make their parts of the army for ever after irreconcilable, and that all parties would be at last obliged to consent to a new parliament; in the election whereof there was a reasonable belief, that the general temper of the people would choose sober and wise men, who would rather bind up the wounds which had been already made, than endeavour to widen them. The committee of safety had neither received the reverence, nor inculcated the fear, which any government must do, that was to last any time. But this surprising resurrection of the parliament, that had been so often exploded, so often dead and buried, and was the only image of power that was most formidable to the king and his party, seemed to pull up all their hopes by the roots, and looked like an act of Providence to establish their monstrous murders and usurpation. And

it may be justly said, and transmitted as a truth to posterity, that there was no one man, who bore a part in these changes and giddy revolutions, who had the least purpose or thought to contribute towards the king's restoration, or who wished well to his interest; they who did so, being so totally suppressed and dispirited, that they were only at gaze, what light might break out of this darkness, and what order Providence might produce out of this confusion. This was the true state of affairs when the king returned from Fuentarabia to Brussels, or within few days after; and therefore it is no wonder, that there was that dejection of spirit upon his majesty and those about him; and that the duke of York, who saw so little hope of returning into England, was well pleased with the condition that was offered him in Spain, and that his servants were impatient to find him in possession of it.

Whilst the divisions had continued in the army, and the parliament seemed entirely deposed and laid aside, and nobody imagined a possibility of any composition without blood, the cardinal himself, as is said before, and the Spanish ministers, seemed ready and prepared to advance any design of the king's. But when they saw all those contentions and raging animosities composed, or suppressed, without one broken head, and those very men again in possession of the government and the army, who had been so scornfully rejected and trampled upon, and who had it now in their power, as well as their purpose, to level all those preeminences which had overlooked them, they looked upon the government as more securely settled

against domestic disturbances, and much more formidably, with reference to their neighbours, than it had been under Cromwell himself; and thought of nothing more, than how to make advantageous and firm alliances with it.

There remained only within the king's own breast some faint hope (and God knows it was very faint) that Monk's march into England might yet produce some alteration. His majesty had a secret correspondence with some principal officers in his army, who were much trusted by him, and had promised great services; and it was presumed that they would undertake no such perilous engagement without his privity and connivance. Besides, it might be expected from his judgment, that, whatever present conditions the governing party might give him, for the service he had done, he could not but conclude, that they would be always jealous of the power they saw he was possessed of, and that an army that had marched so far barely upon his word, would be as ready to march to any place, or for any purpose, he would conduct them. And it was evident enough that the parliament resolved to new model their army, and to have no man in any such extent of command, as to be able to control their counsels. Then his majesty knew they were jealous of his fidelity, how much soever they courted him at that time; and therefore Monk would think himself obliged to provide for his own safety and security.

But, I say, these were but faint hopes grounded upon such probabilities as despairing men are willing to entertain. The truth is, those officers had honest inclinations; and, as wise men, had

concluded, that, from those frequent shuffles, some game at last might fall out, that might prove to the king's advantage, and so were willing to bespeak their own welcome by an early application; which, in regard of the persons trusted by them, they concluded would be attended with no danger. But it never appeared they ever gave the general the least cause to imagine they had any such affection; and if they had, it is likely they had paid dearly for it. And for the second presumption upon his understanding and ratiocination, alas! it was not equal to the enterprise. He could not bear so many and so different contrivances in his head together, as were necessary to that work. And it was the king's great happiness that he never had it in his purpose to serve him, till it fell to be in his power; and indeed till he had nothing else to do. If he had resolved it sooner, he had been destroyed himself; the whole machine being so infinitely above his strength, that it could be only moved by a divine hand; and it is glory enough to his memory, that he was instrumental in bringing those mighty things to pass, which he had neither wisdom to foresee, nor courage to attempt, nor understanding to contrive.

When the parliament found themselves at so much ease, and so much without apprehension of farther insecurity, they heartily wished that general Monk was again in his old quarters in Scotland. But as he continued his march towards London, without expecting their orders, so they knew not how to command him to return, whom they had sent for to assist them, without seeing him, and giving him thanks and reward for his great service:

yet they sent to him their desire, "that all his "forces might be sent back to Scotland; and that "he would not come to London with above five "hundred horse;" but he, having sent back as many as he knew would be sufficient for any work they could have to do in those northern parts, continued his march with an army of about five thousand foot and horse, consisting of such persons in whose affections to him he had full confidence. When he came to York, he found that city in the possession of the lord Fairfax; who received him with open arms, as if he had drawn those forces together, and seized upon that place, to prevent the army's possessing it, and to make Monk's advance into England the less interrupted.

The truth is, that, upon a letter from the king, delivered to Fairfax by sir Horatio Townsend, and with his sole privity, and upon a presumption that general Monk brought good affections with him for his majesty's service, that lord had called together some of his old disbanded officers and soldiers, and marched in the head of them into York, as soon as Lambert was passed towards Newcastle, with a full resolution to declare for the king; but when he could not afterwards discover, upon conference with Monk, that he had any such thought, he satisfied himself with the testimony of his own conscience, and presently dismissed his troops, being well contented with having, in the head of the principal gentlemen of that large county, presented their desires to the general in writing, "that he would be instrumental to restore the "nation to peace and security, and to the enjoying "those rights and liberties, which by the law were

" due to them, and of which they had been robbed " and deprived by so many years' distractions; " and that, in order thereunto, he would prevail, " either for the restoring those members which " had been excluded in the year 1648 by force " and violence, that they might exercise that trust " the kingdom had reposed in them; or that a " free and full parliament might be called by the " votes of the people; to which all subjects had a " right by their birth."

The principal persons of all counties through which the general passed, flocked to him in a body with addresses to the same purpose. The city of London sent a letter to him by their sword-bearer, to offer their service; and all concluded for a free parliament, legally chosen by the free votes of the people. He received all with much civility, and few words; took all occasions publicly to declare " that nothing should shake his fidelity to the " present parliament," yet privately assured those, who he thought it necessary should hope well, " that he would procure a free parliament:" so that every body promised himself that which he most wished.

The parliament was far from being confident that Monk was above temptation: the manner of his march with such a body, contrary to their desires, his receiving so many addresses from the people, and his treating malignants so civilly, startled them much; and though his professions of fidelity to the parliament, and referring all determinations to their wisdom, had a good aspect towards them, yet they feared that he might observe too much how generally odious they were

grown to the people, which might lessen his reverence towards them. To prevent this as much as might be, and to give some check to that license of addresses, and resort of malignants, they sent two of their members of most credit with them, Scot and Robinson, under pretence of giving their thanks to him for the service he had done, to continue and be present with him, and to discountenance and reprehend any boldness that should appear in any delinquents. But this served but to draw more affronts upon them; for those gentlemen who were civilly used by the general, would not bear any disrespect from those of whose persons they had all contempt; and for the authority of those who sent them had no kind of reverence. As soon as the city knew of the deputing those two members, they likewise sent four of their principal citizens, to perform the same compliments, and to confirm him in his inclinations to a free parliament, as the remedy all men desired.

He continued his march with very few halts, till he came to St. Alban's. There he stopped for some days; and sent to the parliament, "that he "had some apprehension that those regiments and "troops of the army who had formerly deserted "them, though for the present they were returned "to their obedience, would not live peaceably "with his men," and therefore desired that all the soldiers "who were then quartered in the Strand, "Westminster, or other suburbs of the city, might "be presently removed, and sent to more distant "quarters, that there might be room for his "army." This message was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed them, and made them see

their fate would still be under the force and awe of an army. However they found it necessary to comply; and sent their orders to all soldiers to depart; which, with the reason and ground of their resolution, was so disdainfully received, that a mutiny did arise amongst the soldiers; and the regiment that was quartered in Somerset-house expressly refused to obey those orders; so that there were like to be new uproars. But their officers, who would have been glad to inflame them upon such an occasion, were under restraint, or absent: and so at last all was well composed, and officers and soldiers removed to the quarters assigned them, with animosity enough against those who were to succeed them in their old ones. And in the beginning of February, general Monk with his army marched through the city into the Strand, and Westminster, where it was quartered; his own lodgings being provided for him in Whitehall.

He was shortly after conducted to the parliament, which had before, when they saw there was no remedy, conferred the office and power of general of all the forces in the three kingdoms upon him, as absolutely as ever they had given it to Cromwell. There he had a chair appointed for him to sit in; and the speaker made a speech to him, in which he extolled the great service he had done to the parliament, and therein to the kingdom, which was in danger to have lost all the liberty they had gotten with so vast an expense of blood and treasure, and to have been made slaves again, if he had not magnanimously declared himself in their defence; the reputation whereof was

enough to blast all their enemies' designs, and to reduce all to their obedience. He told him his memory should flourish to all ages, and the parliament (whose thanks he presented to him) would take all occasions to manifest their kindness and gratitude for the service he had done.

The general was not a man of eloquence, or of any volubility of speech; he assured them of his constant fidelity, which should never be shaken, and that he would live and die in their service; and then informed them of the several addresses which he had received in his march, and of the observation he had made of the general temper of the people, and their impatient desire of a free parliament, which he mentioned with more than his natural warmth, as a thing they would expect to be satisfied in; (which they observed and disliked;) yet concluded, that having done his duty in this representation, and thereby complied with his promise which he had made to those who had made the addresses, he entirely left the consideration and determination of the whole to their wisdom; which gave them some ease, and hope that he would be faithful, though inwardly they heartily wished that he was again in Scotland, and that they had been left to contend with the malignity of their old army; and they longed for some occasion that he might manifest his fidelity and resignation to them, or give them just occasion to suspect and question it.

The late confusions and interruptions of all public receipts had wholly emptied their coffers, out of which the army, and all other expenses, were to be supplied. And though the parliament had, upon

their coming together again, renewed their ordinances for all collections and payments, yet money came in very slowly; and the people generally had so little reverence for their legislators, that they gave very slow obedience to their directions: so that they found it necessary, for their present supply, till they might by degrees make themselves more universally obeyed, to raise a present great sum of money on the city; which could not be done but by the advice and with the consent of the common council; that is, it could not be levied and collected orderly and peaceably, without their distribution.

The common council was constituted of such persons as were weary of the parliament, and would in no degree submit to, or comply with, any of their commands. They did not only utterly refuse to consent to this new imposition, but, in the debate of it, excepted against the authority, and, upon the matter, declared, "that they would never "submit to any imposition that was not granted "by a free and lawful parliament." And it was generally believed, that they had assumed this courage upon some confidence they had in the general; and the apprehension of this made the parliament to be in the greater perplexity and distraction. This refusal would immediately have put an end to their empire; they therefore resolved upon this occasion to make a full experiment of their own power, and of their general's obedience.

The parliament having received a full information from those aldermen, and others, whose interest was bound up with theirs, of all that had passed at the common council, and of the seditious

discourses and expressions made by several of the citizens, referred it to the consideration of the council of state, what was fit to be done towards the rebellious city, to reduce them to that submission which they ought to pay to the parliament. The privy council deliberated upon the matter, and returned their advice to the parliament, "that some "part of the army might be sent into the city, and "remain there, to preserve the peace thereof, and "of the commonwealth, and to reduce it to the "obedience of the parliament. In order thereunto, "and for their better humiliation, they thought it "convenient that the posts and chains should be "removed from and out of the several streets of "the city; and that the portcullises and gates of "the city should be taken down and broken." Over and above this, they named ten or eleven persons, who had been the principal conductors in the common council, all citizens of great reputation; and advised "that they should be appre-"hended and committed to prison, and that there-"upon a new common council might be elected, "that would be more at their devotion."

This round advice was embraced by the parliament; and they had now a fit occasion to make experiment of the courage and fidelity of their general, and commanded him to march into the city with his army; and to execute all those particulars which they thought so necessary to their service; and he as readily executed their commands; led his army into the town [on Feb. the 9th], neglected the entreaties and prayers of all who applied to him, (whereof there were many who believed he meant better towards them,) caused as

many as he could of those who were so proscribed to be apprehended, and sent them to the Tower; and, with all the circumstances of contempt, pulled down and broke the gates and portcullises, to the confusion and consternation of the whole city; and having thus exposed it to the scorn and laughter of all who hated it, which was the whole kingdom, he returned himself to Whitehall, and his army to their former quarters; and by this last act of outrage convinced those who expected somewhat from him how vain their hopes were, and how incapable he was of embracing any opportunity to do a noble action, and confirmed his masters, that they could not be too confident of his obedience to their most extravagant injunctions. And without doubt if the parliament had cultivated this tame resignation of his, with any temper and discretion, by preparing his consent and approbation to their proceedings, they might have found a full condescension from him, at least no opposition to all their other counsels. But they were so infatuated with pride and insolence, that they could not discern the ways to their own preservation.

Whilst he was executing this their tyranny upon the city, they were contriving how to lessen his power and authority, and resolved to join others with him in the command of the army; and, upon that very day, they received a petition, which they had fomented, presented to the parliament by a man notorious in those times, and who hath been formerly mentioned, Praise-God Barebone, in the head of a crowd of sectaries. The petition begun with all the imaginable bitterness and reproaches upon the memory of the late king, and against the

person of the present king, and all the nobility, clergy, and gentry of the kingdom, which adhered to him; the utter extirpation of all which it pressed with great acrimony. It took notice of many discourses of calling a new parliament, at least of admitting those members to sit in the present parliament, who had been excluded in the year 1648; "either of which," the petitioners said, "would "prove the inevitable destruction of all the godly in "the land:" and therefore they besought them with all earnestness, "that no person whatsoever "might be admitted to the exercise of any office "or function in the state, or in the church, no not "so much as to teach a school, who did not first "take the oath of abjuration of the king, and of all "his family, and that he would never submit to "the government of any one single person whatsoever; and that whosoever should presume so "much as to propose or mention the restoration of "the king in parliament, or any other place, should "be adjudged guilty of, and condemned for, high "treason."

This petition was received with great approbation by the house, their affection much applauded, and the thanks of the parliament very solemnly returned by the speaker: all which information the general received at Whitehall, when he returned out of the city; and was presently attended by his chief officers; who, with open mouths, inveighed against the proceedings of the parliament, "their manifest ingratitude to him, and the indig-"nity offered to him, in giving such countenance "to a rabble of infamous varlets, who desired to "set the whole kingdom in a flame, to comply

" with their fantastic and mad enthusiasms; and " that the parliament would never have admitted " such an infamous address with approbation, ex- " cept they had first resolved upon his ruin and " destruction; which he was assuredly to look for, " if he did not prevent it by his wisdom and saga- " city;" and thereupon told him of the underhand endeavours which were used to work upon the affections of the soldiers.

The general had been prepared, by the conferences of Scot and Robinson in the march, to expect, that, as soon as he came to the parliament, he must take the oath of abjuration of the king and his family. And therefore they had advised him " to offer the taking it himself, before it " should be proposed to him, as a matter that " would confirm all men in an entire confidence " in him;" and he discovered not the least aversion from it. When he came to the parliament, they forbore, that day, to mention it, being a day dedicated only to caress him, and to give him thanks, in which it could not be seasonable to mingle any thing of distrust. But they meant roundly to have pressed him to it, if this last opportunity, which they looked upon as a better earnest of his fidelity, had not fallen out; and without doubt he had not then taken any such resolution, as would have made him pause in the giving them that satisfaction. But being now awakened by this alarm from his officers, and the temper they were in, and his phlegm a little curdled, he begun to think himself in danger; and that this body of men, that was called the parliament, had not reputation enough to preserve

themselves, and those who adhered to them. He had observed throughout the kingdom, as he marched, how opprobrious they were in the estimation of all men, who gave them no other term or appellation but the rump, as the fag end of a carcass long since expired. All that night was spent in consultation with his officers; nor did he then form any other design than so to unite his army to him, that they might not leave him in any resolution he should think fit to take.

In the morning, the very next morning after he had broken the gates and the hearts of the city, he called his army again together, and marched with it into London, taking up his own quarters at an alderman's house where he dined. At the same time he left Whitehall, he sent a letter to the parliament, in which he roundly took notice of "their "unreasonable, unjust, and unpolitic proceedings; "of their abetting and countenancing wicked and "unchristian tenets in reference to religion, and "such as would root out the practice of any reli-"gion; of their underhand corresponding with "those very persons whom they had declared to "be enemies, and who had been principally in-"strumental in all the affronts and indignities they "had undergone, in and after their dissolution." Thereupon he advised them in such terms as they could not but understand for the most peremptory command, "that, in such a time," (a time prescribed in his letter,) "they would issue out writs "for a new parliament, that so their own sitting "might be determined; which was the only ex-"pedient that could return peace and happiness "to the kingdom, and which both the army and

"kingdom expected at their hands." This letter was no sooner delivered to the house, than it was printed, and carefully published and dispersed throughout the city, to the end that they who had been so lately and so wofully disappointed, might see how throughly he was embarked, and so entertain no new jealousies of him.

After he had dined, and disposed his army in such a manner and order as he thought fit, he desired the lord mayor and aldermen to meet him at the guildhall; where, after many excuses for the work of yesterday, they plighted their troth each to other in such a manner, for the perfect union and adhering to each other for the future, that, as soon as they came from thence, the lord mayor attended the general to his lodgings, and all the bells of the city proclaimed, and testified to the town and kingdom, that the army and the city were of one mind. And, as soon as the evening came, there was a continued light of bonfires throughout the city and suburbs, with such an universal exclamation of joy, as had never been known, and cannot be expressed, with such ridiculous expressions of scorn and contempt of the parliament, as testified the no-regard, or rather the notable detestation they had of it; there being scarce a bonfire at which they did not roast a rump, and pieces of flesh made like one; "which," they said, "was for the celebration of the funeral "of the parliament:" and there can be no invention of fancy, wit, or ribaldry, that was not that night exercised to defame the parliament, and to magnify the general.

In such a huddle and mixture of loose people of

all conditions, and such a transport of affections, it could not be otherwise but that some men would drink the king's health; which was taken no notice of; nor did one person of condition once presume to mention him. All this, how much soever it amazed and distracted the parliament, did not so dishearten them, but that they continued still to sit, and proceeded in all things with their usual confidence. They were not willing to despair of recovering their general again to them; and, to that purpose, they sent a committee to treat with him, and to make all such proffers to him as they conceived were most like to comply with his ambition, or to satisfy his insatiable avarice. The entertainment he gave this committee, was the engaging them in a conference with another committee of the excluded members, to the end that he might be satisfied by hearing both, how one could have right to sit there as a parliament, and the other be excluded: and when he had heard them all, he made no scruple to declare, "that in justice "the secluded members ought to be admitted, but "that matter was now over, by his having required "the calling another parliament, and the dissolu- "tion of this."

After he had put the city into the posture they desired, and found no danger threatened him from any place, he returned again to his quarters in Whitehall, and disposed his army to those posts which he judged most convenient. He then sent for the members of the parliament to come to him, and many others who had been excluded, and lamented "the sad condition the kingdom was in, "which he principally imputed to the disunion

" and divisions which had arisen in parliament " among those who were faithful to the common- " wealth: that he had had many conferences with " them together, and was satisfied by those gentle- " men, who had been excluded, of their integrity; " and therefore he had desired this conference be- " tween them, that he might communicate his own " thoughts to them; in doing whereof, that he " might not be mistaken in his delivery, or mis- " apprehended in his expressions, as he had lately " been, he had put what he had a mind to say in " writing;" which he commanded his secretary to read to them. The writing imported, that the settlement of the nation lay now in their hands, and that he was assured they would become makers-up of its woful breaches, in pursuit whereof they would be sure of all his service, and he should think all his pains well spent; that he would impose nothing upon them, but took leave to put them in mind, that the old foundations upon which the government had heretofore stood were so totally broken down and demolished, that in the eye of human reason they could never be reedified and restored but in the ruin of the nation; that the interest of the city of London would be best preserved by the government of a commonwealth, which was the only means to make that city to be the bank for the whole trade of Christendom; that he thought a moderate, not a rigid presbyterian government would be most acceptable, and the best way of settlement in the affairs of the church; that their care would be necessary to settle the conduct of the army, and to provide maintenance for the forces by sea and land; and concluded with a

desire that they would put a period to the present parliament, and give order for the calling another that might make a perfect settlement, to which all men might submit. There was no dissimulation in this, in order to cover and conceal his good intentions for the king: for, without doubt, he had not to this hour entertained any purpose or thought to serve him, but was really of the opinion he expressed in his paper, that it was a work impossible; and desired nothing, but that he might see a commonwealth established in such a model as Holland was, where he had been bred; and that himself might enjoy the authority and place which the prince of Orange possessed in that government. He had not, from his marching out of Scotland to this time, had any conversation with any persons who had served the king, nor indeed had he acquaintance with any such; nor had he hitherto, or, for some time after, did he set one of the king's friends at liberty, though all the prisons were full of them; but, on the contrary, they were every day committed; and it was guilt enough to be suspected but to wish for the king's restoration.

As soon as the conference above mentioned was ended with the members of the parliament, they who had been excluded from the year 1648, repaired to the house [on Feb. the 21st], and without any interruption, which they had hitherto found, took their places; and being superior in number to the rest, they first repealed and abolished all the orders by which they had been excluded; then they provided for him who had so well provided for them, by renewing and enlarging

the general's commission, and revoking all other commissions which had been granted to any to meddle with, or assign quarters to any part of the forces.

They who had sat before, had put the whole militia of the kingdom into the hands of sectaries, persons of no degree or quality, and notorious only for some new tenet in religion, and for some barbarity exercised upon the king's party. All these commissions were revoked, and the militia put under the government of the nobility and principal gentry throughout the kingdom; yet with this care and exception, that no person should be capable of being trusted in that province, who did not first declare under his hand, "that he did confess, and acknowledge, that the war raised by the "two houses of parliament against the late king "was just, and lawful, until such time as force and "violence was used upon the parliament in the "year 1648."

In the last place, they raised an assessment of one hundred thousand pounds by the month, for the payment of the army, and defraying the public expenses for six months, to which the whole kingdom willingly submitted; and the city of London, upon the credit and security of that act, advanced as much ready money as they were desired; and having thus far redressed what was past, and provided as well as they could for the future, they issued out writs to call a parliament, to meet upon the five and twentieth day of April next ensuing, (being April 1660,) and then, on the sixteenth or seventeenth day of March, after they had appointed a council of state, of which there were many sober

and honest gentlemen, who did not wish the king ill, they dissolved that present parliament, against all the importunities used by the sectaries, (who in multitudes flocked together, and made addresses in the name of the city of London, that they would not dissolve themselves,) but to the unspeakable joy of all the rest of the kingdom; who, notwithstanding their very different affections, expectations, and designs, were unanimous in their weariness and detestation of the long parliament.

When the king, who had rather an imagination, than an expectation, that the march of general Monk to London with his army might produce some alteration that might be useful to him, heard of his entire submission to the parliament, and of his entering the city, and disarming it, the commitment of the principal citizens, and breaking their gates and portcullises, all the little remainder of his hopes was extinguished, and he had nothing left before his eyes but a perpetual exile, attended with all those discomforts, whereof he had too long experience, and which, he must now expect, would be improved with the worst circumstances of neglect, which use to wait upon that condition. A greater consternation and dejection of mind cannot be imagined than at that time covered the whole court of the king; but God did not suffer him long to be wrapped up in that melancholic cloud. As the general's second march into the city was the very next day after his first, and dispelled the mists and fogs which the other had raised, so the very evening of that day which had brought the news of the first in the morning, brought likewise an account to his majesty of the second, with all

the circumstances of bells, and bonfires, and burning of rumps, and such other additions, as might reasonably be true, and which a willing relator would not omit.

When it begun to be dark, the lord marquis of Ormond brought a young man with him to the chancellor's lodging at Brussels; which was under the king's bedchamber, and to which his majesty every day vouchsafed to come for the despatch of any business. The marquis said no more but "that that man had formerly been an officer "under him, and he believed he was an honest "man; besides, that he brought a line or two of "credit from a person they would both believe; "but that his discourse was so strange and extra-"vagant, that he knew not what to think of it; "however, he would call the king to judge;" and so went out of the room, leaving the man there, and immediately returned with the king.

The man's name was Baily; who had lived most in Ireland, and had served there as a foot-officer under the marquis. He looked as if he had drank much, or slept little: his relation was, "that in the "afternoon of such a day, he was with sir John "Stephens in Lambeth house, used then as a "prison for many of the king's friends; where, "whilst they were in conference together, news "was brought into the house by several persons, "that the general was marched with his whole "army into the city, (it being the very next day "after he had been there, and broke down their "gates, and pulled down their posts,) and that he "had a conference with the mayor and aldermen; "which was no sooner ended, but that all the city

" bells rang out; and he heard the bells very plain " at Lambeth: and that he stayed there so late, till " they saw the bonfires burning and flaming in the " city: upon which sir John Stephens had desired " him, that he would immediately cross the river, " and go into London, and inquire what the matter " was; and if he found any thing extraordinary in " it, that he would take post, and make all possible " haste to Brussels, that the king might be in- " formed of it; and so gave him a short note in " writing to the marquis of Ormond, that he might " believe all that the messenger would inform him: " that thereupon he went over the river, walked " through Cheapside, saw the bonfires, and the " king's health drank in several places, heard all " that the general had done, and brought a copy of " the letter which the general had sent to the par- " liament, at the time when he returned with his " army into the city; and then told many things, " which were," he said, " publicly spoken, con- " cerning sending for the king: that then he took " post for Dover, and hired a bark that brought " him to Ostend."

The time was so short from the hour he left London, that the expedition of his journey was incredible; nor could any man undertake to come from thence in so short a time, upon the most important affair, and for the greatest reward. It was evident by many pauses and hesitations in his discourse, and some repetitions, that the man was not composed, and at best wanted sleep; yet his relation could not be a mere fiction and imagination. Sir John Stephens was a man well known to his majesty, and the other two; and had been

sent over lately by the king, with some advice to his friends; and it was well known, that he had been apprehended at his landing, and was sent prisoner to Lambeth house. And though he had not mentioned in his note any particulars, yet he had given him credit, and nothing but the man's own devotion to the king could reasonably tempt him to undertake so hazardous and chargeable a journey. Then the general's letter to the parliament was of the highest moment, and not like to be feigned; and upon the whole matter, the king thought he had argument to raise his own spirits, and that he should do but justly in communicating his intelligence to his dispirited family and servants; who, upon the news thereof, were revived proportionably to the despair they had swallowed; and, according to the temper of men who had lain under long disconsolation, thought all their sufferings over; and laid in a stock of such unreasonable presumption that no success could procure satisfaction for.

But the king, who thanked God for this new dawning of hope, and was much refreshed with this unexpected alteration, was yet restrained from any confidence that this would produce any such revolution as would be sufficient to do his work, towards which he saw cause enough to despair of assistance from any foreign power. The most that he could collect from the general's letter, besides the suppressing the present tyranny of the parliament, was, that the excluded members might be again admitted, and, it may be, able to govern that council. And even this administered no solid ground of comfort or confidence to his majesty.

Several of those excluded members had not been true members of parliament, but elected, after the end of the war, into their places who had been expelled for adhering to the king; and so they had no title to sit there, but what the counterfeit great seal had given them, without and against the king's authority. It was thought these men, with others who had been lawfully chosen, were willing, and desirous, that the concessions made by the late king at the Isle of Wight might be accepted; which in truth did, with the preservation of the name and life of the king, near as much establish a republican government, as was settled after his murder; and because they would insist upon that, they were, with those circumstances of force and violence, which are formerly mentioned, excluded from the house; without which that horrid villainy could never have been committed.

Now what could the king reasonably expect from these men's readmission into the government, but that they would resume their old conclusions, and press him to consent to his father's concessions? which his late majesty yielded to with much less cheerfulness, than he walked to the scaffold; though it was upon the promise of many powerful men then in the parliament, "that he should not be obliged "to accomplish that agreement." These revolvings wrought much upon his majesty, though he thought it necessary to appear pleased with what he had heard, and to expect much greater things from it; which yet he knew not how to contribute to, till he should receive a farther account from London of the revolutions there.

Indeed, when all his majesty had heard before

was confirmed by several expresses, who passed with much freedom, and were every day sent by his friends, who had recovered their courage to the full, and discerned that these excluded members were principally admitted to prepare for the calling a new parliament, and to be sure to make the dissolution of this unquestionable and certain, the king recovered his hopes again; which were every day increased by the addresses of many men, who had never before applied themselves to him; and many sent to him for his majesty's approbation and leave to serve and sit in the next parliament. And from the time that the parliament was dissolved, the council of state behaved themselves very civilly towards his majesty's friends, and released many of them out of prison: particularly Annesley, when president of the council, was very well contented that the king should receive particular information of his devotion, and of his resolution to do him service; which he manifested in many particulars of importance, and had the courage to receive a letter from his majesty, and returned a dutiful answer to it: all which had a very good aspect, and seemed to promise much good. Yet the king knew not what to think of the general's paper, which he had delivered at his conference with the members; for which he could have no temptation, but his violent affection to a commonwealth. Few or none of his majesty's friends could find any means of address to him; yet they did believe, and were much the better for believing it, that the king had some secret correspondence with him. And some of them sent to the king, "of what im-
"portance it would be, that he gave them some

"credit, or means of access to the general, by "which they might receive his order and direction "in such things as occurred on the sudden, and "that they might be sure to do nothing that "might cross any purpose of his." To which the king returned no other answer, "but that they "should have patience, and make no attempt what-"soever; and that in due time they should receive "all advertisements necessary;" it being not thought fit to disclaim having intelligence with, or hopes of, the general; since it was very evident, that the received opinion, that he did design to serve the king, or that he would be at last obliged to do it, whether he designed to do it or no, did really as much contribute to the advancement of his majesty's service, as if he had dedicated himself to it. And the assurance, that the other men had, that he had no such intention, hindered those obstructions, jealousies, and interruptions, which very probably might have lessened his credit with his own army, or united all the rest of the forces against him.

There happened likewise at this time an accident that very much troubled the king, and might very probably have destroyed all the hopes that began to flatter him. Upon the dissolution of the parliament, which put an end to all the power and authority of those who had been the chief instruments of all the monstrous things which had been done, the highest despair seized upon all who had been the late king's judges; who were sure to find as hard measure from the secluded members, as they were to expect if the king himself had been restored. And all they who had afterwards concurred with them, and exercised the same power,

who were called the rump, believed their ruin and destruction to be certain, and at hand. And therefore they contrived all the ways they could to preserve themselves, and to prevent the assembling a new parliament; which if they could interrupt, they made no doubt but the rump members would again resume the government, notwithstanding their dissolution by the power of the secluded members; who would then pay dear for their presumption and intrusion.

To this purpose, they employed their agents amongst the officers and soldiers of the army, who had been disgracefully removed from their quarters in the Strand, and Westminster, and the parts adjacent to London, to make room for general Monk's army; which was now looked upon as the sole confiding part of the army. And they inflamed these men with the sense of their own desperate condition; who, having served throughout the war, should, besides the loss of all the arrears of pay due to them, be now offered as a sacrifice to the cavaliers, whom they had conquered, and who were implacably incensed against them. Nor did they omit to make the same infusions into the soldiers of general Monk's army, who had all the same title to the same fears and apprehensions. And when their minds were thus prepared, and ready to declare upon the first opportunity, Lambert made his escape out of the Tower; his party having in all places so many of their combination, that they could compass their designs of that kind whenever they thought fit; though the general had as great a jealousy of this man's escape, as of any thing that could fall out to supplant him. And

therefore, it may be presumed, he took all possible care to prevent it: and they who then had command of the place were notoriously known neither to love Lambert's person, nor to favour his designs.

This escape of Lambert in such a conjuncture, the most perilous that it could fall out in, put the general, and the council of state, into a great agony. They knew well what poison had been scattered about the army, and what impression it had made in the soldiers. Lambert was the most popular man, and had the greatest influence upon them. And though they had lately deserted him, they had sufficiently published their remorse, and their detestation of those who had seduced and cozened them. So that there was little doubt to be made, now he was at liberty, but that they would flock and resort to him, as soon as they should know where to find him. On the other hand, no small danger was threatened from the very drawing the army together to a rendezvous in order to prosecute and oppose him, no man being able to make a judgment what they would choose to do in such a conjuncture, when they were so full of jealousy and dissatisfaction. And it may very reasonably be believed, that if he had, after he found himself at liberty, lain concealed, till he had digested the method he meant to proceed in, and procured some place to which the troops might resort to declare with him, when he should appear, (which had been very easy then for him to have done,) he would have gone near to have shaken and dissolved the model the general had made.

But either through the fear of his security, and

being betrayed into the hands of his enemies, (as all kind of treachery was at that time very active; of which he had experience,) or the presumption, that the army would obey him upon his first call, and that, if he could draw a small part to him, the rest would never appear against him; he precipitated himself to make an attempt, before he was ready for it, or it for him; and so put it into his enemy's power to disappoint and control all his designs. He stayed not at all in London, as he ought to have done, but hastened into the country; and trusting a gentleman in Buckinghamshire, whom he thought himself sure of, the general had quickly notice in what quarter he was: yet, with great expedition, Lambert drew four troops of the army to him, with which he had the courage to appear near Daventry in Northamptonshire, a country infamously famous for disaffection to the king, and for adhering to the parliament; where he presumed he should be attended by other parts of the army, before it should be known at Whitehall where he was, and that any forces could be sent from thence against him: of which, he doubted not, from his many friends, he should have seasonable notice.

But the general, upon his first secret intimation of his being in Buckinghamshire, and of the course he meant to take, had committed it to the charge and care of colonel Ingoldsby, (who was well known to be very willing and desirous to take revenge upon Lambert, for his malice to Oliver and Richard, and the affront he had himself received from him,) to attend and watch all his motions with his own regiment of horse; which

was the more faithful to him for having been before seduced by Lambert to desert him. Ingoldsby used so much diligence in waiting upon Lambert's motion, before he was suspected to be so near, that one of Lambert's four captains fell into the hands of his forlorn hope; who made him prisoner, and brought him to their colonel. The captain was very well known to Ingoldsby; who, after some conference with him, gave him his liberty, upon his promise, "that he would himself "retire to his house, and send his troop to obey "his commands;" which promise he observed; and the next day his troop, under his cornet and quartermaster, came to Ingoldsby, and informed him where Lambert was. He thereupon made haste, and was in his view, before the other had notice that he was pursued by him.

Lambert, surprised with this discovery, and finding that one of his troops had forsaken him, saw his enemy much superior to him in number; and therefore sent to desire that they might treat together; which the other was content to do. Lambert proposed to him, "that they might "restore Richard to be protector;" and promised to unite all his credit to the support of that interest. But Ingoldsby (besides that he well understood the folly and impossibility of that undertaking) had devoted himself to a better interest; and adhered to the general, because he presumed that he did intend to serve the king, and so rejected this overture. Whereupon both parties prepared to fight, when another of Lambert's troops forsaking him, and putting themselves under his enemy, he concluded, that his safety would depend upon his

flight; which he thought to secure by the swiftness of his horse. But Ingoldsby keeping his eye still upon him, and being as well horsed, overtook him, and made him his prisoner, after he had in vain used great and much importunity to him, that he would permit him to escape.

With him were taken Oakes, Axtell, Cobbet, Creed, and some other officers of the greatest interest with the fanatic part of the army, and who were most apprehended by the general, in a time when all the ways were full of soldiers endeavouring to repair to them: so that, if they had not been crushed in that instant, they would, in very few days, have appeared very formidable. Ingoldsby returned to London, and brought his prisoners to the privy council; who committed Lambert again to the Tower with a stricter charge, with some other of the officers; and sent the rest to other prisons. This very seasonable victory looked to all men as a happy omen to the succeeding parliament; which was to assemble the next day after the prisoners were brought before the council; and would not have appeared with the same cheerfulness, if Lambert had remained still in arms, or, in truth, if he had been still at liberty.

In this interval between the dissolution of the last and convention of the new parliament, the council of state did many prudent actions, which were good presages that the future counsels would proceed with moderation. They released sir George Booth from his imprisonment, that he might be elected to sit in the ensuing parliament, as he shortly after was; and they set at liberty all those who had been committed for adhering to him.

Those of the king's party who had sheltered themselves in obscurity, appeared now abroad, and conversed without control; and Mr. Mordaunt, who was known to be entirely trusted by the king, walked into all places with freedom; and many of the council, and some officers of the army, as Ingoldsby and Huntington, &c. made, through him, tender of their services to the king.

But that which seemed of most importance, was the reformation they made in the navy; which was full of sectaries, and under the government of those who of all men were declared the most republican. The present fleet prepared for the summer service was under the command of vice-admiral Lawson; an excellent seaman, but then a notorious anabaptist; who had filled the fleet with officers and mariners of the same principles. And they well remembered, how he had lately besieged the city; and, by the power of his fleet, given that turn which helped to ruin the committee of safety, and restore the rump parliament to the exercise of their jurisdiction; for which he stood high in reputation with all that party. The parliament resolved, though they thought it not fit or safe to remove Lawson, yet so far to eclipse him, that he should not have it so absolutely in his power to control them. In order to this they concluded, that they would call Mountague, who had lain privately in his own house, under a cloud, and jealousy of being inclined too much to the king, and made him and the general (who was not to be left out in any thing) joint admirals of the fleet; whereby Mountague only would go to sea, and have the ships under his command; by which he might take

care for good officers, and seamen, for such other ships as they meant to add to the fleet, and would be able to observe, if not reform the rest. Mountague sent privately over to the king for his approbation, before he would accept the charge; which being speedily sent to him, he came to London, and entered into that joint command with the general; and immediately applied himself to put the fleet into so good order, that he might comfortably serve in it. Since there was no man who betook himself to his majesty's service with more generosity than this gentleman, it is fit in this place to enlarge concerning him, and the correspondence which he held with the king.

Mountague was of a noble family, of which some were too much addicted to innovations in religion, and, in the beginning of the troubles, appeared against the king; though his father, who had been long a servant to the crown, never could be prevailed upon to swerve from his allegiance, and took all the care he could to restrain this his only son within those limits: but being young, and more out of his father's control by being married into a family, which, at that time, also trod awry, he was so far wrought upon by the caresses of Cromwell, that, out of pure affection to him, he was persuaded to take command in the army, when it was new modelled under Fairfax, and when he was little more than twenty years of age. He served in that army in the condition of a colonel to the end of the war, with the reputation of a very stout and sober young man. And from that time Cromwell, to whom he passionately adhered, took him into his nearest confidence, and sent him, first,

joined in commission with Blake; and then, in the sole command of several expeditions by sea; in which he was discreet and successful. And though men looked upon him as devoted to Cromwell's interest, in all other respects he behaved himself with civility to all men, and without the least show of acrimony towards any who had served the king; and was so much in love with monarchy, that he was one of those who most desired and advised Cromwell to accept and assume that title, when it was offered to him by his parliament. He was designed by him to command the fleet that was to mediate, as was pretended, in the Sound, between the two kings of Sweden and Denmark; but was, in truth, to hinder the Dutch from assisting the Dane against the Swede; with whom Oliver was engaged in an inseparable alliance. He was upon this expedition, when Richard was scornfully thrown out of the protectorship; and was afterwards joined (for they knew not how to leave him out, whilst he had that command) with Algernon Sidney, and the other plenipotentiaries which the rump parliament sent to reconcile those crowns. As soon as Richard was so cast down, the king thought Mountague's relations and obligations were at an end, and was advised by those who knew him, to invite him to his service.

There accompanied him at that time Edward Mountague, the eldest son of the lord Mountague of Boughton, and his near kinsman; with whom he had a particular friendship. This gentleman was not unknown to the king, and very well known to the chancellor, to have good affections and resolutions; and one who, by the correspondence that

was between them, he knew, had undertaken that unpleasant voyage, only to dispose his cousin to lay hold of the first opportunity to serve his majesty. At this time sir George Booth appeared, and all those designs were laid, which, it was reasonably hoped, would engage the whole kingdom against that odious part of the parliament which was then possessed of the government. And it was now thought a very seasonable conjuncture to make an experiment, whether Mountague with his fleet would declare for the king.

The chancellor thereupon prepared such a letter in his own name, as his majesty thought proper, to invite him to that resolution, from the distraction of the times, and the determination of all those motives which had in his youth first provoked him to the engagements he had been in. He informed him of "sir George Booth's being possessed of "Chester, and in the head of an army; and that "his majesty was assured of many other places; "and of a general combination between persons of "the greatest interest, to declare for the king; "and that, if he would bring his fleet upon the "coast, his majesty, or the duke of York, would "immediately be on board with him." This letter was enclosed in another to Edward Mountague, to be by him delivered, or not delivered, as he thought fit; and committed to the care of an express, who was then thought not to be without some credit with the admiral himself; which did not prove true. However, the messenger was diligent in prosecuting his voyage, and arrived safely at Copenhagen, (where the fleet lay; and where all the plenipotentiaries from the parliament then were,)

and without difficulty found opportunity to deliver his letter to the person to whom it was directed; who, the same night, delivered the other to his cousin. He received it cheerfully, and was well pleased with the hopes of sudden revolutions in England.

They were both of them puzzled how to behave themselves towards the messenger, who was not acceptable to them, being very well known to the fleet, where though he had had good command, he had no credit; and had appeared so publicly, by the folly of good fellowship, that the admiral, and many others, had seen him and taken notice of him, before he knew that he brought any letter for him. The conclusion was, that he should without delay be sent away, without speaking with the admiral, or knowing that he knew any thing of his errand. But Edward Mountague writ such a letter to the chancellor, as was evidence enough that his majesty would not be disappointed in his expectation of any service that the admiral could perform for him. With this answer the messenger returned to Brussels, where there was a great alteration from the time he had left it.

Within few days after this messenger's withdrawing from Copenhagen, of whose being there the plenipotentiaries were so jealous, that they had resolved to require of the king of Denmark, that he might be committed to prison, admiral Mountague declared, "that he should not be able to "stay longer there for the want of victual; of "which he had not more than would serve to "carry him home; and therefore desired, that "they would press both kings, and the Dutch ple-

" nipotentiaries, to finish the negociation." By this time the news of the revolutions in England made a great noise, and were reported, according to the affections of the persons who sent letters thither, more to the king's advantage than there was reason for; and the other plenipotentiaries came to know, that the man, of whom they were so jealous, had privately spoken with Edward Mountague; who was very well known, and very ill thought of by them. And from thence they concluded, that the admiral, who had never pleased them, was no stranger to that negociation; in which jealousy they were quickly confirmed, when they saw him with his fleet under sail, making his course for England, without giving them any notice, or taking his leave of them; which if he had done, they had secret authority from their coming thither (upon the general apprehension of his inclination) to have secured his person on board his own ship, and to have disposed of the government of the fleet; of which being thus prevented, they could do no more than send expresses overland, to acquaint the parliament of his departure, with all the aggravation of his pride, presumption, and infidelity, which the bitterness of their nature and wit could suggest to them.

When the fleet arrived near the coast of England, they found sir George Booth defeated, and all persons who pretended any affection for the king so totally crushed, and the rump parliament in so full exercise of its tyrannical power, that the admiral had nothing to do but to justify his return " by his scarcity of victual, which must have failed, " if he had stayed till the winter had shut him up

"in the Sound;" and his return was resolved upon the joint advice of the flag-officers of the fleet; there being not a man but his cousin, who knew any other reason of his return, or was privy to his purposes. So that, as soon as he had presented himself to the parliament, and laid down his command, they deferred the examination of the whole matter, upon the complaints which they had received from their commissioners, till they could be at more leisure. For it was then about the time that they grew jealous of Lambert; so that Montague went quietly into the country, and remained neglected and forgotten, till those revolutions were over which were produced by Lambert's invasion upon the parliament, and general Monk's march into England, and till near the time that the name and title of that parliament was totally abolished and extinguished; and then the council of state called him to resume the command of the fleet; which he accepted in the manner aforesaid.

This, together with the other good symptoms in the state, raised his majesty's hopes and expectation higher than ever, if it had not been an unpleasant allay, that in so great an alteration, and application of many who had been eminently averse from his majesty, of the general, who only could put an end to all his doubts, there was *altum silentium*; no persons trusted by his majesty could approach him, nor did any word fall from him that could encourage them to go to him, though they still presumed that he meant well.

The general was weary and perplexed with his unwieldy burden, yet knew not how to make it lighter by communication. He spent much time

in consultation with persons of every interest, the king's party only excepted; with whom he held no conference; though he found, in his every day's discourses in the city, with those who were thought to be presbyterians, and with other persons of quality and consideration, that the people did generally wish for the king, and that they did believe, there could be no firm and settled peace in the nation, that did not comprehend his interest, and compose the prejudice that was against his party. But then there must be strict conditions to which he must be bound, which it should not be in his majesty's power to break; and which might not only secure all who had borne arms against him, but such who had purchased the lands of the crown, or of bishops, or of delinquents; and nobody spoke more moderately, than for the confirming all that had been offered by his father in the Isle of Wight.

Whether by invitation, or upon his own desire, he was present at Northumberland-house in a conference with that earl, the earl of Manchester, and other lords, and likewise with Hollis, sir William Waller, Lewis, and other eminent persons, who had a trust and confidence in each other, and who were looked upon as the heads and governors of the moderate presbyterian party; who, most of them, would have been very glad, their own security being provided for, that the king should be restored to his full rights, and the church to its possessions. In this conference, the king's restoration was proposed in direct terms, as absolutely necessary to the peace of the kingdom, and for the satisfaction of the people; and the question seemed

only to be, upon what terms they should admit him: some proposing more moderate, others more severe conditions. In this whole debate, the general insisted upon the most rigid propositions; which he pressed in such a manner, that the lords grew jealous that he had such an aversion from restoring the king, that it would not be safe for them then to prosecute that advice; and therefore it were best to acquiesce till the parliament met, and that they could make some judgment of the temper of it. And the general, though he consulted with those of every faction with much freedom; yet was then thought to have most familiarity, and to converse most freely, with sir Arthur Haslerig, who was irreconcilable to monarchy, and looked upon as the chief of that republican party, which desired not to preserve any face of government in the church, or uniformity in the public exercise of religion. This made the lords, and all others, who were of different affections, very wary in their discourses with the general, and jealous of his inclinations.

There was, at this time, in much conversation and trust with the general, a gentleman of Devonshire, of a fair estate and reputation, one Mr. William Morrice, a person of a retired life, which he spent in study, being learned and of good parts; and he had been always looked upon as a man far from any malice towards the king, if he had not good affections for him; which they who knew him best, believed him to have in a good measure. This gentleman was allied to the general, and entirely trusted by him in the management of his estate in that country, where, by the death of his

elder brother without heirs male, he inherited a fair fortune. And Morrice, being chosen to serve in the next ensuing parliament, had made haste to London, the better to observe how things were like to go. With him the general consulted freely touching all his perplexities and observations; how "he found most men of quality and interest in-"clined to call in the king, but upon such con-"ditions as must be very ungrateful, if possible "to be received;" and the London ministers talked already so loudly of them, that they had caused the covenant to be new printed, and, by order, to be secretly fixed up in all churches, they, in their sermons, discoursed of the several obligations in it, that, without exposing themselves to the danger of naming the king, which yet they did not long forbear, every body understood, they thought it necessary the people should return to their allegiance.

That which wrought most upon the general, was the choice which was generally made in all counties for members to serve in parliament; very many of them being known to be of singular affection to the king; and very few who did not heartily abhor the murder of his father, and detest the government that succeeded; so that it was reasonably apprehended, that, when they should once meet, there would be warmth among them, that could not be restrained or controlled; and they might take the business so much into their own hands, as to leave no part to him to merit of the king; from whom he had yet deserved nothing.

Mr. Morrice was not wanting to cultivate those conceptions with his information of the affections

of the west, "where the king's restoration was," he said, "so impatiently longed for, that they had "made choice of few or no members to serve for "Cornwall, or Devonshire; but such, who, they "were confident, would contribute all they could "to invite the king to return. And when that "subject was once upon the stage, they who con-"curred with most frankness would find most "credit; and they who opposed it would be over-"borne with lasting reproach." When the general had reflected upon the whole matter, he resolved to advance what he plainly saw he should not be able to hinder; and so consulted with his friend, how he might manage it in that manner, before the parliament should assemble, that what followed might be imputed to his counsels and contrivance.

There was then in the town a gentleman well known to be a servant of eminent trust to the king, sir John Greenvil, who, from the time of the surrender of Scilly, had enjoyed his estate, and sometimes his liberty, though, under the jealousy of a disaffected person, often restrained. He had been privy to the sending to the general into Scotland the clergyman, his brother; and was conversant with those who were most trusted by his majesty, and at this time were taken notice of to have all intimacy with Mr. Mordaunt; who most immediately corresponded with Brussels. This gentleman was of a family to which the general was allied; and he had been obliged to his father, sir Bevil Greenvil; who lost his life at the battle of Lansdown for the king, and by his will had recommended his much impaired fortune, and his

wife and children, to the care and counsel of his neighbour and friend, Mr. Morrice; who had executed the trust with the utmost fidelity and friendship.

The general was content, that sir John Greenvil should be trusted in this great affair, and that Mr. Morrice should bring him secretly to him in a private lodging he had in St. James's. When he came to him, after he had solemnly conjured him to secrecy, upon the peril of his life; he told him, "he meant to send him to the king; with whom, "he presumed, he had credit enough to be be-"lieved without any testimony; for he was re-"solved not to write to the king, nor to give him "any thing in writing; but wished him to confer "with Mr. Morrice, and to take short memorials "in his own hand of those particulars he should "offer to him in discourse; which when he had "done, he would himself confer with him again at "an hour he should appoint." And so he retired hastily out of the room, as if he were jealous that other men would wonder at his absence.

That which Mr. Morrice communicated to Greenvil, was, after he had enlarged upon "the per-"plexity the general was in, by the several hu-"mours and factions which prevailed, and that "he durst not trust any officer of his own army, "or any friend but himself, with his own secret "purposes;" he advised, "that the king should "write a letter to the general; in which, after "kind and gracious expressions, he should desire "him to deliver the enclosed letter and declaration "to the parliament;" the particular heads and

materials for which letter and declaration, Morrice discoursed to him; the end of which was to satisfy all interests, and to comply with every man's humour, and indeed to suffer every man to enjoy what he would.

After sir John Greenvil had enough discoursed all particulars with him, and taken such short memorials for his memory as he thought necessary, within a day or two he was brought with the same wariness, and in another place, to the general; to whom he read the short notes he had taken; to which little was added: and the general said, that if the "king writ to that purpose, "when he brought the letter to him, he would "keep it in his hands, till he found a fit time to "deliver it, or should think of another way to "serve his majesty." Only he added another particular, as an advice absolutely necessary for the king to consent to, which was, his majesty's present remove out of Flanders. He undertook to know, that the Spaniard had no purpose to do any thing for him, and that all his friends were jealous, that it would not be in his power to remove from thence, if he deferred it till they discovered that he was like to have no need of them. And therefore he desired, "that his majesty would "make haste to Breda, and that, for the public "satisfaction, and that it might be evident he had "left Flanders, whatsoever he should send in "writing should bear date as from Breda;" and he enjoined sir John Greenvil "not to return, till "he had himself seen the king out of the domi-"nions of Flanders." Thus instructed, he left him,

who, taking Mr. Mordaunt with him for the companion of his journey, set out for Flanders about the beginning of April 1660, and in few days arrived safely at Brussels.

It was no unpleasant prospect to the king, nor of small advantage to him, that the Spaniard looked upon all these revolutions in England as the effects of the several animosities and emulations of the different factions among themselves; a contention only between the presbyterian-republicans on one side, and the independent and levelling party on the other, for superiority, and who should steer the government of the state, without the least reference to the king's interest: which, they thought, would in no degree be advanced which side soever prevailed. And therefore don Alonzo, by his Irish agents, (who made him believe any thing,) continued firm to the levellers, who, if they got the better of their enemies, he was assured, would make a good peace with Spain; which above all things they desired: and if they were oppressed, he made as little doubt they would unite themselves to the king, upon such conditions as he should arbitrate between them. And in this confidence he embraced all the ways he could to correspond with them, receiving such agents with all possible secrecy who repaired to him to Brussels; and when instruments of most credit and importance would not adventure thither, he was contented to send some person, who was intrusted by him, into Zealand to confer and treat with them. And in this kind of negociation, which was very expensive, they cared not what money they dis-

bursed, whilst they neglected the king, and suffered him to be without that small supply, which they had assigned to him.

In this temper were the Spanish ministers, when Mr. Mordaunt and sir John Greenvil came to Brussels. And they had so fully possessed the court at Madrid with the same spirit, that when the chancellor, in his letters to sir Harry Bennet, his majesty's resident there, intimated the hopes they had of a revolution in England to the advantage of the king, he answered plainly, "that he durst not "communicate any of those letters to the ministers "there; who would laugh at him for abusing them, "since they looked upon all those hopes of the "king as imaginary, and without foundation of "sense, and upon his condition as most deplorable, "and absolutely desperate."

When sir John Greenvil had at large informed his majesty of the affairs of England, of the manner of the general's conference with him, and the good affection of Mr. Morrice, and had communicated the instructions and advices he had received, as his majesty was very glad that the general had thus far discovered himself, and that he had opened a door for correspondence, so he was not without great perplexity upon many particulars which were recommended to be done; some of which he believed impossible and unpracticable, as the leaving every body in the state they were in, and confirming their possession in all the lands which they held in England, Scotland, or Ireland, by purchase or donation, whether of lands belonging to the crown and church, or such who, for adhering to his father and himself, were declared delinquents,

and had their lands confiscated and disposed of as their enemies had thought fit. Then, the complying with all humours in religion, and the granting a general liberty of conscience, was a violation of all the laws in force, and could not be comprehended to consist with the peace of the kingdom. No man was more disposed to a general act of indemnity and oblivion than his majesty was, which he knew, in so long and universal a guilt, was absolutely necessary. But he thought it neither consistent with his honour, nor his conscience, that those who had sat as judges, and condemned his father to be murdered, should be comprehended in that act of pardon: yet it was advised, "that "there might be no exception; or that above four "might not be excepted; because," it was alleged, "that some of them had facilitated the general's "march by falling from Lambert, and others "had barefaced advanced the king's service very "much."

After great deliberation upon all the particulars, and weighing the importance of complying with the general's advice in all things which his conscience and honour would permit, his majesty directed such letters and declarations to be prepared, as should be, in a good degree, suitable to the wishes and counsel of the general, and yet make the transaction of those things which he did not like, the effect of the power of the parliament, rather than of his majesty's approbation. And the confidence he had upon the general election of honest and prudent men, and in some particular persons, who, he heard, were already chosen, disposed him to make a general reference of all things which he could

not reserve to himself, to the wisdom of the parliament, upon presumption that they would not exact more from him than he was willing to consent to; since he well knew, that whatever title they assumed, or he gave them, they must have another kind of parliament to confirm all that was done by them; without which they could not be safe and contented, nor his majesty obliged.

The advice for his majesty's remove out of Flanders presently, was not ungrateful; for he had reasons abundant to be weary of it: yet he was without any great inclination to Holland; where he had been as barbarously used as it was possible for any gentleman to be. But besides the authority which the general's advice deserved to have, the truth is, his majesty could remove no whither else. France was equally excepted against, and equally disagreeable to the king; and the way thither must be through all the Spanish dominions: Dunkirk was a place in many respects desirable, because it was in the possession of the English, from whence he might embark for England upon the shortest warning. And upon the first alterations in England, after the peace between the two crowns, the king had sent to Lockhart, the governor, and general of the English there, by a person of honour, well known and respected by him, to invite him to his service by the prospect he had of the revolutions like to ensue, (which probably could not but be advantageous to the king,) and by the uncertainty of Lockhart's own condition upon any such alterations. The arguments were urged to him with clearness and force enough, and all necessary

offers made to persuade him to declare for the king, and to receive his majesty into that garrison; which might be facilitated by his majesty's troops, if he did not think his own soldiers enough at his devotion: yet he could not be prevailed with, urging "the trust he had received, and the "indecency of breaking it; though," he confessed, "there was such a jealousy of him in the council "of state, for his relation and alliance to Crom-"well, that he expected every day to be removed "from that command;" as shortly after he was. Whether this refusal proceeded from the punctuality of his nature, (for he was a man of parts, and of honour,) or from his jealousy of the garrison, that they would not be disposed by him, (for though he was exceedingly beloved and obeyed by them, yet they were all Englishmen, and he had none of his own nation, but in his own family,) certain it is, that, at the same time he refused to treat with the king, he refused to accept the great offers made to him by the cardinal; who had a high esteem of him, and offered to make him marshal of France, with great appointments of pensions and other emoluments, if he would deliver Dunkirk and Mardike into the hands of France; all which overtures he rejected: so that his majesty had no place to resort to preferable to Breda.

The king was resolved rather to make no mention of the murderers of his father, than to pardon any of them, and except four, as was proposed: but chose rather to refer the whole consideration of that affair, without any restriction, to the conscience of the parliament; yet with such expressions and descriptions, that they could not but discern that he

trusted them in confidence that they would do themselves and the nation right, in declaring their detestation of, and preparing vengeance for, that parricide. And from the time that the secluded members sat again with the rump, there was good evidence given that they would not leave that odious murder unexamined and unpunished; which the more disposed the king to depend upon their virtue and justice.

When the summons were sent out to call the parliament, there was no mention or thought of a house of peers; nor had the general intimated any such thing to sir John Greenvil; nor did sir John himself, or Mr. Mordaunt, conceive that any of the lords had a purpose to meet at first, but that all must depend upon the commons. However, the king thought not fit to pass them by, but to have a letter prepared as well for them as for the house of commons; and another to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London; who, by adhering to the general, were like to add very much to his authority.

When all those things were prepared, and perused, and approved by the king, which he resolved to send by sir John Greenvil to the general, (Greenvil's and Mordaunt's being in Brussels being unknown; they, attending his majesty only in the night at the chancellor's lodging, concealing themselves from being taken notice of by any,) his majesty visited the marquis of Carracena, and told him, "that he intended the next day to go to "Antwerp, and from thence to Breda, to spend "two or three days with his sister the princess of "Orange;" to whom the dukes of York and

Gloucester were already gone, to acquaint her with the king's purpose; and his majesty likewise, in confidence, informed him, "that there were some "persons come from England, who would not "venture to come to Brussels, from whom he ex- "pected some propositions and informations, which "might prove beneficial to him; which obliged "him to make that journey to confer with them."

The marquis seemed to think that of little moment; and said, "that don Alonzo expected every "day to receive assurance, that the levellers would "unite themselves to the king's interest, upon "more moderate conditions than they had hitherto "made;" but desired his majesty, "that the duke "of York might hasten his journey into Spain, to "receive the command that was there reserved for "him;" and the king desired him, "that the "forces he had promised for his service might be "ready against his return to be embarked upon "the first appearance of a hopeful occasion." So they parted; and his majesty went the next day to Antwerp, with that small retinue he used to travel with.

His departure was some hours earlier than the marquis imagined; and the reason of it was this: in that night, one Mr. William Galloway, an Irish young man, page at that time to don Alonzo de Cardinas, came to the lord chancellor's lodgings, and finding his secretary in his own room, told him, "he must needs speak presently with his lord; for "he had something to impart to him that concerned "the king's life." The chancellor, though at that time in bed, ordered him to be admitted; and the poor man trembling told him, "that his lord don

"Alonzo and the marquis of Carracena had been "long together that evening; and, that himself "had overheard them saying something of sending "a guard to attend the king: that, about an hour "after, they parted; and the marquis sent a paper "to don Alonzo; who, when he went to bed, laid "it on his table: that himself, who lay in his "master's antechamber, looked into the paper, "when his master was in bed; and, seeing what it "was, had brought it to the chancellor." It imported an order to an officer to attend the king with a party of horse, for a guard wherever he went, (a respect that never had been paid him before,) but not to suffer him, on any terms, to go out of the town. As soon as the chancellor had read the order, he sent his secretary with it to the king; who was in bed likewise; and his majesty having read it, the secretary returned it to Galloway; who went home, and laid it in its place upon his master's table. The king commanded the chancellor's secretary to call up his majesty's querry, sir William Armorer; and to him his majesty gave his orders, charging him with secrecy, "that he would "be gone at three of the clock that morning:" and accordingly he went, attended by the marquis of Ormond, sir William Armorer, and two or three servants more. Between eight and nine that morning, an officer did come and inquire for the king; but it happened, by this seasonable discovery, that his majesty had made his escape some hours before, to the no small mortification, no doubt, of the Spanish governor.

As soon as his majesty came into the States' dominions, which was about the midway between

Antwerp and Breda, he delivered to sir John Greenvil (who attended there *incognito*, that he might warrantably aver to the general, "that he "had seen his majesty out of Flanders") all those despatches, which were prepared, and dated, as from Breda, upon the same day in which he received them, and where his majesty was to be that night. The copies of all were likewise delivered to him, that the general, upon perusal thereof, might choose whether to deliver the originals, if any thing was contained therein which he disliked; and his majesty referred it to him to proceed any other way, if, upon any alterations which should happen, he thought fit to vary from his former advice.

Sir John Greenvil, before his departure, told the king, "that though he had no order to propose "it directly to his majesty; yet he could assure "him, it would be the most grateful and obliging "thing his majesty could do towards the general, "if he would give him leave to assure him, that, as "soon as he came into England, he would bestow "the office of one of the secretaries of state upon "Mr. Morrice; who was as well qualified for it, as "any man who had not been versed in the know-"ledge of foreign affairs." One of those places was then void by the earl of Bristol's becoming Roman catholic, and thereupon resigning the signet; and his majesty was very glad to lay that obligation upon the general, and to gratify a person who had so much credit with him, and had already given such manifestation of his good affection to his majesty, and directed him to give that assurance to the general. With these despatches sir John Greenvil, and Mr. Mordaunt, who privately ex-

pected his return at Antwerp, made what haste they could towards England; and the king went that night to Breda. The letters which the king writ to the general, and to the house of commons, and the other letters, with the declaration, are here inserted in the terms they were sent.

To our trusty and well-beloved general Monk, to be by him communicated to the president, and council of state, and to the officers of the armies under his command.

" *Charles R.*

" Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: " It cannot be believed, but that we have been, " are, and ever must be, as solicitous as we can, by " all endeavours to improve the affections of our " good subjects at home, and to procure the assist- " ance of our friends and allies abroad, for the " recovery of that right, which, by the laws of " God and man, is unquestionable; and of which " we have been so long dispossessed by such force, " and with those circumstances, as we do not " desire to aggravate by any sharp expressions; " but rather wish, that the memory of what is past " may be buried to the world. That we have more " endeavoured to prepare and to improve the affec- " tions of our subjects at home for our restoration, " than to procure assistance from abroad to invade " either of our kingdoms, is as manifest to the " world. And we cannot give a better evidence " that we are still of the same mind, than in this " conjuncture; when common reason must satisfy " all men, that we cannot be without assistance " from abroad, we choose rather to send to you,

" who have it in your power to prevent that ruin " and desolation which a war would bring upon " the nation, and to make the whole kingdom owe " the peace, happiness, security, and glory it shall " enjoy, to your virtue; and to acknowledge that " your armies have complied with their obligations, " for which they were first raised, for the preserva- " tion of the protestant religion, the honour and " dignity of the king, the privileges of parliament, " the liberty and property of the subject, and the " fundamental laws of the land; and that you have " vindicated that trust, which others most per- " fidiously abused and betrayed. How much we " desire and resolve to contribute to those good " ends, will appear to you by our enclosed declara- " tion; which we desire you to cause to be pub- " lished for the information and satisfaction of all " good subjects, who do not desire a farther effusion " of precious Christian blood, but to have their " peace and security founded upon that which can " only support it, an unity of affections amongst " ourselves, an equal administration of justice to " men, restoring parliaments to a full capacity of " providing for all that is amiss, and the laws of " the land to their due veneration.

" You have been yourselves witnesses of so " many revolutions, and have had so much expe- " rience, how far any power and authority that is " only assumed by passion and appetite, and not " supported by justice, is from providing for the " happiness and peace of the people, or from re- " ceiving any obedience from them, (without which " no government can provide for them,) that you " may very reasonably believe, that God hath not

" been so well pleased with the attempts that have " been made, since he hath usually increased the " confusion, by giving all the success that hath " been desired, and brought that to pass without " effect, which the designers have proposed as the " best means to settle and compose the nation: " and therefore we cannot but hope and believe, " that you will concur with us in the remedy we " have applied; which, to human understanding, is " only proper for the ills we all groan under; and " that you will make yourselves the blessed instru- " ments to bring this blessing of peace and recon- " ciliation upon king and people; it being the " usual method in which divine providence delight- " eth itself, to use and sanctify those very means, " which ill men design for the satisfaction of pri- " vate and particular ends and ambition, and other " wicked purposes, to wholesome and public ends, " and to establish that good which is most con- " trary to the designers; which is the greatest " manifestation of God's peculiar kindness to a " nation that can be given in this world. How far " we resolve to preserve your interests, and reward " your services, we refer to our declaration; and " we hope God will inspire you to perform your " duty to us, and to your native country; whose " happiness cannot be separated from each other.

" We have intrusted our well-beloved servant " sir John Greenvil, one of the gentlemen of our " bedchamber, to deliver this unto you, and to give " us an account of your reception of it, and to " desire you, in our name, that it may be published. " And so we bid you farewell."

Given at our court at Breda, this $\frac{4}{14}$*th of April,* 1660, *in the twelfth year of our reign.*

To our trusty and well-beloved, the speaker of the house of commons.

" *Charles R.*

" Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: " In these great and insupportable afflictions and " calamities, under which the poor nation hath been " so long exercised, and by which it is so near " exhausted, we cannot think of a more natural and " proper remedy, than to resort to those for coun- " sel and advice, who have seen and observed the " first beginning of our miseries, the progress from " bad to worse, and the mistakes and misunder- " standings, which have been produced, and con- " tributed to inconveniences which were not in- " tended; and after so many revolutions, and the " observation of what hath attended them, are " now trusted by our good subjects to repair the " breaches which are made, and to provide proper " remedies for those evils, and for the lasting " peace, happiness, and security of the kingdom.

" We do assure you upon our royal word, that " none of our predecessors have had a greater " esteem of parliaments, than we have in our judg- " ment, as well as from our obligation; we do " believe them to be so vital a part of the consti- " tution of the kingdom, and so necessary for the " government of it, that we well know neither " prince nor people can be in any tolerable degree " happy without them; and therefore you may be " confident, that we shall always look upon their " counsels, as the best we can receive; and shall " be as tender of their privileges, and as careful to " preserve and protect them, as of that which is

" most near to ourself, and most necessary for our " own preservation.

" And as this is our opinion of parliaments, that " their authority is most necessary for the govern- " ment of the kingdom; so we are most confident, " that you believe, and find, that the preservation " of the king's authority is as necessary for the " preservation of parliaments; and that it is not " the name, but the right constitution of them, " which can prepare and apply proper remedies for " those evils which are grievous to the people, and " which can thereby establish their peace and secu- " rity. And therefore we have not the least " doubt, but that you will be as tender in, and as " jealous of, any thing that may infringe our " honour, or impair our authority, as of your own " liberty and property; which is best preserved by " preserving the other.

" How far we have trusted you in this great " affair, and how much it is in your power to " restore the nation to all that it hath lost, and to " redeem it from any infamy it hath undergone, " and to make the king and people as happy as " they ought to be; you will find by our enclosed " declaration; a copy of which we have likewise sent " to the house of peers: and you will easily believe, " that we would not voluntarily, and of ourself, " have reposed so great a trust in you, but upon " an entire confidence that you will not abuse it, " and that you will proceed in such a manner, and " with such due consideration of us who have " trusted you, that we shall not be ashamed of " declining other assistance, (which we have assur- " ance of,) and repairing to you for more natural

" and proper remedies for the evils we would be " freed from; nor sorry, that we have bound up " our own interests so entirely with that of our " subjects, as that we refer it to the same persons " to take care of us, who are trusted to provide for " them. We look upon you as wise and dispas- " sionate men, and good patriots, who will raise " up those banks and fences which have been cast " down, and who will most reasonably hope, that " the same prosperity will again spring from those " roots, from which it hath heretofore and always " grown; nor can we apprehend that you will " propose any thing to us, or expect any thing " from us, but what we are as ready to give, as " you to receive.

" If you desire the advancement and propagation " of the protestant religion, we have, by our con- " stant profession, and practice of it, given suffi- " cient testimony to the world, that neither the " unkindness of those of the same faith towards us, " nor the civilities and obligations from those of a " contrary profession, (of both which we have had " an abundant evidence,) could in the least degree " startle us, or make us swerve from it; and no- " thing can be proposed to manifest our zeal and " affection for it, to which we will not readily con- " sent. And we hope, in due time, ourself to " propose somewhat to you for the propagation of " it, that will satisfy the world, that we have always " made it both our care and our study, and have " enough observed what is most like to bring dis- " advantage to it.

" If you desire security for those who, in these " calamitous times, either wilfully or weakly have

" transgressed those bounds which were prescribed,
" and have invaded each other's rights, we have
" left to you to provide for their security and in-
" demnity, and in such a way as you shall think
" just and reasonable; and by a just computation
" of what men have done and suffered, as near as
" is possible, to take care that all men be satisfied;
" which is the surest way to suppress and extirpate
" all such uncharitableness and animosity, as might
" hereafter shake and threaten that peace, which
" for the present might seem established. If there
" be a crying sin, for which the nation may be
" involved in the infamy that attends it, we cannot
" doubt but that you will be as solicitous to redeem
" it, and vindicate the nation from that guilt and
" infamy, as we can be.

" If you desire that reverence and obedience
" may be paid to the fundamental laws of the land,
" and that justice may be equally and impartially
" administered to all men, it is that which we de-
" sire to be sworn to ourself, and that all persons
" in power and authority should be so too.

" In a word, there is nothing that you can pro-
" pose that may make the kingdom happy, which
" we will not contend with you to compass; and
" upon this confidence and assurance, we have
" thought fit to send you this declaration, that you
" may, as much as is possible, at this distance, see
" our heart; which, when God shall bring us
" nearer together, (as we hope he will do shortly,)
" will appear to you very agreeable to what we
" have professed; and we hope, that we have made
" that right Christian use of our affliction, and
" that the observation and experience we have had

" in other countries, have been such, as that we, " and, we hope, all our subjects, shall be the better " for what we have seen and suffered.

" We shall add no more, but our prayers to Al- " mighty God, that he will so bless your counsels, " and direct your endeavours, that his glory and " worship may be provided for; and the peace, " honour, and happiness of the nation may be " established upon those foundations which can " best support it. And so we bid you farewell."

Given at our court at Breda, this $\frac{4}{14}$*th day of April,* 1660, *in the twelfth year of our reign.*

His majesty's declaration.

" *Charles R.*

" Charles, by the grace of God, king of England, " Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the " faith, &c. To all our loving subjects of what de- " gree or quality soever, greeting. If the general " distraction and confusion, which is spread over " the whole kingdom, doth not awaken all men to " a desire, and longing, that those wounds, which " have so many years together been kept bleeding, " may be bound up, all we can say will be to no " purpose. However, after this long silence, we " have thought it our duty to declare, how much " we desire to contribute thereunto: and that, as " we can never give over the hope, in good time, " to obtain the possession of that right, which " God and nature hath made our due; so we do " make it our daily suit to the divine Providence,

" that he will, in compassion to us and our sub-
" jects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit,
" and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession
" of that our right, with as little blood and damage
" to our people as is possible; nor do we desire
" more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our
" subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a
" full and entire administration of justice through-
" out the land, and by extending our mercy where
" it is wanted and deserved.

" And to the end that fear of punishment may
" not engage any conscious to themselves of what
" is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future,
" by opposing the quiet and happiness of their
" country, in the restoration both of king, and
" peers, and people, to their just, ancient, and fun-
" damental rights; we do by these presents de-
" clare, that we do grant a free and general
" pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to
" pass under our great seal of England, to all our
" subjects of what degree or quality soever, who,
" within forty days after the publishing hereof,
" shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour,
" and shall by any public act declare their doing
" so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedi-
" ence of good subjects; excepting only such
" persons as shall hereafter be excepted by parlia-
" ment. Those only excepted, let all our subjects,
" how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king,
" solemnly given by this present declaration, that
" no crime whatsoever committed against us, or
" our royal father, before the publication of this,
" shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in
" question, against any of them, to the least in-

" damagement of them, either in their lives, liber-
" ties, or estates, or (as far forth as lies in our
" power) so much as to the prejudice of their re-
" putations, by any reproach, or terms of distinction
" from the rest of our best subjects; we desiring,
" and ordaining, that henceforward all notes of
" discord, separation, and difference of parties, be
" utterly abolished among all our subjects; whom
" we invite and conjure to a perfect union among
" themselves, under our protection, for the resettle-
" ment of our just rights, and theirs, in a free par-
" liament; by which, upon the word of a king, we
" will be advised.

" And because the passion and uncharitableness
" of the times have produced several opinions in
" religion, by which men are engaged in parties
" and animosities against each other; which, when
" they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conver-
" sation, will be composed, or better understood;
" we do declare a liberty to tender consciences;
" and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in
" question, for differences of opinion in matters of
" religion which do not disturb the peace of the
" kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent
" to such an act of parliament, as, upon mature
" deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full
" granting that indulgence.

" And because in the continued distractions of
" so many years, and so many and great revolu-
" tions, many grants and purchases of estates have
" been made to and by many officers, soldiers, and
" others, who are now possessed of the same, and
" who may be liable to actions at law, upon several
" titles; we are likewise willing that all such dif-

" ferences, and all things relating to such grants, " sales, and purchases, shall be determined in par- " liament; which can best provide for the just " satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

" And we do farther declare, that we will be " ready to consent to any act or acts of parliament " to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satis- " faction of all arrears due to the officers and " soldiers of the army under the command of ge- " neral Monk; and that they shall be received into " our service upon as good pay and conditions as " they now enjoy."

Given under our sign manual, and privy signet, at our court at Breda, the $\frac{1}{1}\frac{4}{1}$*th day of April,* 1660, *in the twelfth year of our reign.*

" *Charles R.*

" Right trusty and right well-beloved cousins, " and right trusty and well-beloved cousins, and " trusty and right well-beloved; we greet you well. " We cannot have a better reason to promise our- " self an end of our common sufferings and cala- " mities, and that our own just power and authority " will, with God's blessing, be restored to us, than " that you are again acknowledged to have that " authority and jurisdiction which hath always be- " longed to you by your birth, and the fundamental " laws of the land: and we have thought it very " fit and safe for us to call to you for your help, in " the composing the confounding distempers and " distractions of the kingdom; in which your suffer- " ings are next to those we have undergone ourself;

" and therefore you cannot but be the most proper " counsellors for removing those mischiefs, and " for preventing the like for the future. How " great a trust we repose in you, for the procuring " and establishing a blessed peace and security for " the kingdom, will appear to you by our enclosed " declaration; which trust we are most confident " you will discharge with that justice and wisdom " that becomes you, and must always be expected " from you; and that, upon your experience how " one violation succeeds another, when the known " relations and rules of justice are once trans- " gressed, you will be as jealous for the rights of " the crown, and for the honour of your king, as " for yourselves: and then you cannot but dis- " charge your trust with good success, and provide " for and establish the peace, happiness, and ho- " nour of king, lords, and commons, upon that " foundation which can only support it; and we " shall be all happy in each other; and as the " whole kingdom will bless God for you all, so we " shall hold ourself obliged in an especial manner " to thank you in particular, according to the af- " fection you shall express towards us. We need " the less enlarge to you upon this subject, because " we have likewise writ to the house of commons; " which we suppose they will communicate to you. " And we pray God to bless your joint endeavours " for the good of us all. And so we bid you very " heartily farewell."

Given at our court at Breda, this $\frac{4}{14}$*th day of April,* 1660, *in the twelfth year of our reign.*

To our trusty and well-beloved general Monk and general Mountague, generals at sea, to be communicated to the fleet.

" *Charles R.*

" Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. " It is no small comfort to us, after so long and " great troubles and miseries, which the whole " nation hath groaned under; and after so great " revolutions, which have still increased those mi- " series, to hear that the fleet and ships, which are " the walls of the kingdom, are put under the " command of two persons so well disposed to, " and concerned in, the peace and happiness of the " kingdom, as we believe you to be; and that the " officers and seamen under your command are " more inclined to return to their duty to us, and " put a period to these distempers and distractions, " which have so impoverished and dishonoured the " nation, than to widen the breach, and to raise " their fortunes by rapine and violence; which " gives us great encouragement and hope, that " God Almighty will heal the wounds by the same " plaister that made the flesh raw; that he will " proceed in the same method in pouring his " blessings upon us, which he was pleased to use, " when he began to afflict us; and that the ma- " nifestation of the good affection of the fleet " and seamen towards us, and the peace of the " nation, may be the prologue to that peace, which " was first interrupted by the mistake and misun- " derstanding of their predecessors; which would " be such a blessing upon us all, that we should

" not be less delighted with the manner, than the " matter of it.

" In this hope and confidence, we have sent the " enclosed declaration to you; by which you may " discern, how much we are willing to contribute " towards the obtaining the general and public " peace: in which, as no man can be more, or so " much, concerned, so no man can be more solicit- " ous for it. And we do earnestly desire you, " that you will cause the said declaration to be " published to all the officers and seamen of the " fleet; to the end, that they may plainly discern, " how much we have put it into their power to " provide for the peace and happiness of the " nation, who have been always understood by them " to be the best and most proper counsellors for " those good ends: and you are likewise farther to " declare to them, that we have the same gracious " purpose towards them, which we have expressed " towards the army at land; and will be as ready " to provide for the payment of all arrears due " to them, and for rewarding them according to " their several merits, as we have expressed to the " other; and we will always take so particular a " care of them and their condition, as shall mani- " fest our kindness towards them. And so de- " pending upon God's blessing, for infusing those " good resolutions into your and their hearts, " which are best for us all; we bid you farewell."

Given at our court at Breda, this $\frac{1}{1}\frac{4}{4}$*th day of April,* 1660, *in the twelfth year of our reign.*

To our trusty and well-beloved the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, of our city of London.

" *Charles R.*

" Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. " In these great revolutions of late, happened in " that our kingdom, to the wonder and amazement " of all the world, there is none that we have " looked upon with more comfort, than the so fre- " quent and public manifestations of their affections " to us in the city of London; which hath exceed- " ingly raised our spirits, and which, no doubt, " hath proceeded from the Spirit of God, and his " extraordinary mercy to the nation; which hath " been encouraged by you, and your good example, " to assert that government under which it hath, " so many hundred years, enjoyed as great felicity " as any nation in Europe; and to discountenance " the imaginations of those who would subject our " subjects to a government they have not yet " devised, and, to satisfy the pride and ambition " of a few ill men, would introduce the most arbi- " trary and tyrannical power that was ever yet " heard of. How long we have all suffered under " those and the like devices, all the world takes " notice, to the no small reproach of the English " nation; which we hope is now providing for its " own security and redemption, and will be no " longer bewitched by those inventions.

" How desirous we are to contribute to the " obtaining the peace and happiness of our subjects " without effusion of blood; and how far we are " from desiring to recover what belongs to us by

" a war, if it can be otherwise done, will appear to " you by the enclosed declaration; which, together " with this our letter, we have intrusted our right " trusty and well-beloved cousin, the lord viscount " Mordaunt, and our trusty and well-beloved ser- " vant, sir John Greenvil, knight, one of the gentle- " men of our bedchamber, to deliver to you; to " the end, that you, and all the rest of our good " subjects of that our city of London, (to whom we " desire it should be published,) may know, how " far we are from the desire of revenge, or that the " peace, happiness, and security of the kingdom, " should be raised upon any other foundation than " the affections and hearts of our subjects, and " their own consents.

" We have not the least doubt of your just sense " of these our condescensions, or of your zeal to " advance and promote the same good end, by " disposing all men to meet us with the same " affection and tenderness, in restoring the funda- " mental laws to that reverence that is due to them, " and upon the preservation whereof all our happi- " ness depends. And you will have no reason to " doubt of enjoying your full share in that hap- " piness, and of the improving it by our particular " affection to you. It is very natural for all men " to do all the good they can for their native " country, and to advance the honour of it; and " as we have that full affection for the kingdom in " general, so we would not be thought to be with- " out some extraordinary kindness for our native " city in that particular; which we shall manifest " on all occasions, not only by renewing their " charter, and confirming all those privileges which

" they have received from our predecessors, but by " adding and granting any new favours, which may " advance the trade, wealth, and honour of that " our native city; for which we will be so solicitous, " that we doubt not but that it will, in due time, " receive some benefit and advantage in all those " respects, even from our own observation and " experience abroad. And we are most confident, " we shall never be disappointed in our expectation " of all possible service from your affections: and " so we bid you farewell."

Given at our court at Breda, the $\frac{4}{14}$*th day of April,* 1660, *in the twelfth year of our reign.*

The [two] gentlemen lately mentioned to have been with the king returned to London before the defeat of Lambert, and a full week before the parliament was to begin. The general, upon the perusal of the copies of the several despatches, liked all very well. And it ought to be remembered for his honour, that from this time he behaved himself with great affection towards the king; and though he was offered all the authority that Cromwell had enjoyed, and the title of king, he used all his endeavours to promote and advance the interest of his majesty: yet he as carefully retained the secret, and did not communicate to any person living, (Mr. Morrice only excepted,) that he had received any letter from the king, till the very minute that he presented it to the house of commons.

There happened at the same time a concurrence which much facilitated the great work in hand,

For since a great obstruction, that hindered the universal consent to call in the king, was the conscience of the personal injuries, incivilities, reproaches, which all the royal party had sustained, and the apprehension that their animosities were so great, that, notwithstanding all acts of pardon and indemnity granted by the king, all opportunities would be embraced for secret revenge, and that they, who had been kept under and oppressed for near twenty years, would for the future use the power they could not be without upon the king's restoration, with extreme license and insolence; to obviate this too reasonable imagination, some discreet persons of the king's party caused a profession and protestation to be prepared, in which they declared that they looked upon their late sufferings as the effect of God's judgments upon their own particular sins, which had as much contributed to the miseries of the nation, as any other cause had done; and they did therefore protest, and call God to witness of such their protestation, that if it should please God to restore the king, they would be so far from remembering any injuries or discourtesies which they had sustained, in order to return the like to any who had disobliged them, that they resolved on nothing more than to live with the same affection and good neighbourhood towards them, as towards each other, and never to make the least reflection upon any thing that was past.

These professions, or to the same purpose, under the title of a declaration of all those that had served the late king, or his present majesty, or adhered to the royal party in such a city or county,

which was named, were signed by all the considerable persons therein; and then all printed with their names, and published to the view of the world; which were received with great joy, and did much allay those jealousies, which obstructed the confidence that was necessary to establish a good understanding between them.

Nothing hath been of late said of Ireland; which waited upon the dictates of the governing party in England with the same giddiness. The Irish, who would now have been glad to have redeemed their past miscarriages and madness by doing service for the king, were under as severe a captivity, and complete misery, as the worst of their actions had deserved, and indeed as they were capable of undergoing. After near one hundred thousand of them transported into foreign parts, for the service of the two kings of France and Spain, few of whom were alive after seven years, and after double that number consumed by the plague and famine, and inhuman barbarities exercised upon them in their own country; the remainder of them had been by Cromwell (who could not find a better way of extirpation) transplanted into the most inland, barren, desolate, and mountainous part of the province of Connaught; and it was lawful for any man to kill any of the Irish, who were found in any place out of those precincts which were assigned to them within that circuit. Such a proportion of land was allotted to every man as the protector thought competent for them; upon which they were to give formal releases of all their pretences and titles to any lands in any other provinces, of which they had been deprived; and if

they refused to give such releases, they were still deprived of what they would not release, without any reasonable hope of ever being restored to it; and left to starve within the limits prescribed to them; out of which they durst not withdraw; and they who did adventure were without all remorse killed by the English, as soon as they were discovered: so that very few refused to sign those releases, or other acts which were demanded; upon which the lords and gentlemen had such assignments of land made to them, as in some degree were proportionable to their qualities; which fell out less mischievously to those who were of that province, who came to enjoy some part of what had been their own; but to those who were driven thither out of other provinces, it was little less destructive than if they had nothing; it was so long before they could settle themselves, and by husbandry raise any thing out of their lands to support their lives: yet necessity obliged them to acquiescence, and to be in some sort industrious; so that at the time to which we are now arrived, they were settled, within the limits prescribed, in a condition of living; though even the hard articles which had been granted were not punctually observed to them; but their proportions restrained, and lessened by some pretences of the English, under some former grants, or other titles; to all which they found it necessary to submit, and were compelled to enjoy what was left, under all the marks and brands which ever accompanied a conquered nation; which reproach the Irish had taken so heavily from the earl of Strafford, when they were equally free with the English, who had sub-

dued them, that they made it part of that charge upon which he lost his life.

Upon the recalling and tame submission of Harry Cromwell to the rump parliament, as soon as his brother Richard was deposed, the factions increased in Ireland to a very great height, as well amongst the soldiers and officers of the army, as in the council of state, and amongst the civil magistrates. The lord Broghill, who was president of Munster, and of a very great interest and influence upon that whole province, though he had great wariness in discovering his inclinations, as he had great guilt to restrain them, yet hated Lambert so much, that he less feared the king; and so wished for a safe opportunity to do his majesty service; and he had a good post, and a good party to concur with him, when he should call upon them, and think fit to declare.

Sir Charles Coot, who was president of Connaught, and had a good command, and interest in the army, was a man of less wit and less guilt, and more courage, and impatience to serve the king. He sent over sir Arthur Forbes, a Scottish gentleman of good affection to the king, and good interest in the province of Ulster, where he was an officer of horse. This gentleman sir Charles Coot sent to Brussels to the marquis of Ormond, "that "he might assure his majesty of his affection and "duty; and that, if his majesty would vouchsafe "himself to come into Ireland, he was confident "the whole kingdom would declare for him: that "though the present power in England had re-"moved all the sober men from the government "of the state, in Ireland, under the character of

" presbyterians; and had put Ludlow, Corbet, and " others of the king's judges, in their places; yet " they were so generally odious to the army as " well as to the people, that they could seize upon " their persons, and the very castle of Dublin, " when they should judge it convenient."

Sir Arthur Forbes arrived at Brussels, before the king had any assurance or confident hope of the general, and when few men thought his fortune better than desperate: so that, if what sir Arthur proposed (which was kept very secret) had been published, most men about the court would have been very solicitous for his majesty's going into Ireland. But his majesty well knew that that unhappy kingdom must infallibly wait upon the fate of England; and therefore he resolved to attend the vicissitudes there; which, in his own thoughts, he still believed would produce somewhat in the end, of which he should have the benefit; and dismissed sir Arthur Forbes with such letters and commissions as he desired; who thereupon returned for Ireland; where he found the state of affairs very much altered since his departure. For upon the defeat of Lambert, and general Monk's marching towards London, the lord Broghill and sir Charles Coot, notwithstanding the jealousy that was between them, joined with such other persons who were presbyterians, and though they had been always against the king, yet they all concurred in seizing upon the persons who had been put in by Lambert, or the rump parliament, and submitted to the orders of general Monk, the rather, because they did imagine that he intended to serve the king; and so, by the

time that the parliament was to meet at Westminster, all things were so well disposed in Ireland, that it was evident they would do whatsoever the general and the parliament (who they presumed would be of one mind) should order them to do.

The parliament met upon the five and twentieth day of April; of which the general was returned a member, to serve as knight of the shire for the county of Devon, together with Mr. Maurice; sir Harbottle Grimstone was chosen speaker, who had been a member of the long parliament, and continued, rather than concurred, with them, till after the treaty of the Isle of Wight; where he was one of the commissioners sent to treat with that king, and behaved himself so well, that his majesty was well satisfied with him; and after his return from thence, he pressed the acceptance of the king's concessions; and was thereupon in the number of those who were by force excluded the house. His election to be speaker at this time was contrived by those who meant well to the king; and he submitted to it out of a hope and confidence that the designs it was laid for would succeed. They begun chiefly with bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwell, as an odious and perjured tyrant, with execrations upon the unchristian murder of the late king. And in these generals they spent the first five days of sitting; no man having the courage, how loyal soever their wishes were, to mention his majesty, till they could make a discovery what mind the general was of; who could only protect such a proposition from being penal to the person that made it, by the former ordinances of the rump parliament.

After the general had well surveyed the temper of the house, upon the first of May he came into the house, and told them, "one sir John Greenvil, "who was a servant of the king's, had brought "him a letter from his majesty; which he had in "his hand, but would not presume to open it "without their direction; and that the same gen- "tleman was at the door, and had a letter to the "house;" which was no sooner said, than with a general acclamation he was called for; and being brought to the bar, he said, "that he was com- "manded by the king his master, having been "lately with him at Breda, to deliver that letter to "the house:" which he was ready to do; and so, giving it by the sergeant to be delivered to the speaker, he withdrew.

The house immediately called to have both letters read, that to the general, and that to the speaker; which being done, the declaration was as greedily called for, and read. And from this time Charles Stuart was no more heard of: and so universal a joy was never seen within those walls; and though there were some members there, who were nothing delighted with the temper of the house, nor with the argument of it, and probably had malice enough to make within themselves the most execrable wishes, yet they had not the hardiness to appear less transported than the rest: who, not deferring it one moment, and without one contradicting voice, appointed a committee to prepare an answer to his majesty's letter, expressing the great and joyful sense the house had of his gracious offers, and their humble and hearty thanks for the same, and with professions of their loyalty

and duty to his majesty; and that the house would give a speedy answer to his majesty's gracious proposals. They likewise ordered, at the same time, that both his majesty's letters, that to the house, and that to the general, with his majesty's declaration therein enclosed, and the resolution of the house thereupon, should be forthwith printed and published.

This kind of reception was beyond what the best affected, nay, even the king, could expect or hope; and all that followed went in the same pace. The lords, when they saw what spirit the house of commons was possessed of, would not lose their share of thanks, but made haste into their house without excluding any who had been sequestered from sitting there for their delinquency; and then they received likewise the letter from sir John Greenvil which his majesty had directed to them; and they received it with the same duty and acknowledgment. The lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, were likewise transported with the king's goodness towards them, and with the expressions of his royal clemency; and entered into close deliberation, what return they should make to him to manifest their duty and gratitude. And the officers of the army, upon the sight of the letters to their generals, and his majesty's declaration, thought themselves highly honoured, in that they were looked upon as good instruments of his majesty's restoration; and made those vows, and published such declarations of their loyalty and duty, as their generals caused to be provided for them; which they signed with the loudest alacrity. And the truth is, the general managed the business,

which he had now undertaken, with wonderful prudence and dexterity. And as the nature and humour of his officers was well known to him, so he removed such from their commands whose affections he suspected, and conferred their places upon others, of whom he was most assured. In a word, there was either real joy in the hearts of all men, or at least their countenance appeared such as if they were glad at the heart.

The committee, who were appointed by the house of commons to prepare an answer to the king's letter, found it hard to satisfy all men, who were well contented that the king should be invited to return: but some thought that the guilt of the nation did require less precipitation than was like to be used; and that the treaty ought first to be made with the king, and conditions of security agreed on, before his majesty should be received. Many of those, who had conferred together before the meeting of the parliament, had designed some articles to be prepared, according to the model of those at Killingworth, in the time of king Harry the Third, to which the king should be sworn before he came home. Then the presbyterian party, of which there were many members in parliament, though they were rather troublesome than powerful, seemed very solicitous that somewhat should be concluded in veneration of the covenant; and, at least, that somewhat should be inserted in their answer to the discountenance of the bishops. But the warmer zeal of the house threw away all those formalities and affectations: they said, "they "had proceeded too far already in their vote "upon the receipt of the letter, to fall back again,

" and to offend the king with colder expressions " of their duty." In the end, after some days' debate, finding an equal impatience without the walls to that within the house, they were contented to gratify the presbyterians in the length of the answer, and in using some expressions which would please them, and could do the king no prejudice; and all agreed, that this answer should be returned to his majesty, which is here inserted in the very words.

Most royal sovereign,

" We your majesty's most loyal subjects, the " commons of England assembled in parliament, " do, with all humbleness, present unto your " majesty the unfeigned thankfulness of our hearts, " for those gracious expressions of piety, and good- " ness, and love to us, and the nations under your " dominion, which your majesty's letter of the $\frac{14}{24}$th " of April, dated from Breda, together with the de- " claration enclosed in it of the same date, do so " evidently contain. For which we do, in the first " place, look up to the great King of kings, and " bless his name, who hath put these thoughts into " the heart of our king, to make him glorious in " the eyes of his people; as those great deliver- " ances, which that divine Majesty hath afforded " unto your royal person, from many dangers, and " the support which he hath given to your heroic " and princely mind under various trials, make it " appear to all the world that you are precious in " his sight. And give us leave to say, that as " your majesty is pleased to declare your confidence

" in parliaments, your esteem of them, and this your " judgment, and character of them, that they are " so necessary for the government of the kingdom, " that neither prince nor people can be in any " tolerable degree happy without them, and there- " fore say, that you will hearken unto their coun- " sels, be tender of their privileges, and careful to " preserve and protect them; so we trust, and will, " with all humility, be bold to affirm, that your " majesty will not be deceived in us, and that we " will never depart from that fidelity which we owe " unto your majesty, that zeal which we bear unto " your service, and a constant endeavour to advance " your honour and greatness.

" And we beseech your majesty, we may add " this farther for the vindication of parliaments, and " even of the last parliament, convened under your " royal father of happy memory, when, as your " majesty well observes, through mistakes, and " misunderstandings, many inconveniences were " produced, which were not intended, that those " very inconveniences could not have been brought " upon us by those persons who had designed them, " without violating the parliament itself. For " they well knew it was not possible to do a vio- " lence to that sacred person, whilst the parliament, " which had vowed and covenanted for the defence " and safety of that person, remained entire. " Surely, sir, as the persons of our kings have ever " been dear unto parliaments, so we cannot think " of that horrid act committed against the precious " life of our late sovereign, but with such a detest- " ation and abhorrency, as we want words to ex- " press it; and, next to wishing it had never been,

" we wish it may never be remembered by your " majesty, to be unto you an occasion of sorrow, " as it will never be remembered by us, but with " that grief and trouble of mind which it deserves; " being the greatest reproach that ever was in- " curred by any of the English nation, an offence " to all the protestant churches abroad, and a " scandal to the profession of the truth of religion " here at home; though both profession, and true " professors, and the nation itself, as well as the " parliament, were most innocent of it; it having " been only the contrivance and act of some few " ambitious and bloody persons, and such others, " as by their influence were misled. And as we " hope and pray, that God will not impute the " guilt of it, nor of all the evil consequences there- " of, unto the land, whose divine justice never " involves the guiltless with the guilty, so we " cannot but give due praise to your majesty's " goodness, who are pleased to entertain such " reconciled and reconciling thoughts, and with " them not only meet, but as it were prevent " your parliament and people, proposing yourself " in a great measure, and inviting the parliament " to consider farther, and advise your majesty, " what may be necessary to restore the nation to " what it hath lost, raise up again the banks and " fences of it, and make the kingdom happy by " the advancement of religion, the security of our " laws, liberties, and estates, and the removing all " jealousies and animosities, which may render our " peace less certain and durable. Wherein your " majesty gives a large evidence of your great " wisdom; judging aright, that, after so high a

" distemper, and such an universal shaking of the
" very foundations, great care must be had to repair
" the breaches, and much circumspection and
" industry used to provide things necessary for the
" strengthening of those repairs, and preventing
" whatsoever may disturb or weaken them.

" We shall immediately apply ourselves to the
" preparing of these things; and, in a very short
" time, we hope to be able to present them to your
" majesty; and for the present do, with all humble
" thankfulness, acknowledge your grace and favour
" in assuring us of your royal concurrence with us,
" and saying, that we shall not expect any thing
" from you, but what you will be as ready to give,
" as we to receive. And we cannot doubt of your
" majesty's effectual performance, since your own
" princely judgment hath prompted unto you the
" necessity of doing such things; and your piety
" and goodness hath carried you to a free tender
" of them to your faithful parliament. You speak
" as a gracious king, and we will do what befits
" dutiful, loving, and loyal subjects; who are yet
" more engaged to honour and highly esteem your
" majesty, for your declining, as you were pleased
" to say, all foreign assistance, and rather trusting
" to your people; who, we do assure your majesty,
" will and do open their arms and their hearts to
" receive you, and will spare neither their estates,
" nor their lives, when your service shall require it
" of them.

" And we have yet more cause to enlarge our
" praise and our prayers to God for your majesty,
" that you have continued unshaken in your faith;
" that neither the temptation of allurements, per-

" suasions, and promises from seducing papists on " the one hand, nor the persecution and hard usage " from some seduced and misguided professors of " the protestant religion on the other hand, could " at all prevail on your majesty, to make you for- " sake the Rock of Israel, the God of your fathers, " and the true protestant religion, in which your " majesty hath been bred; but you have still been " as a rock yourself, firm to your covenant with " your and our God, even now expressing your " zeal and affection for the protestant religion, and " your care and study for the propagation thereof. " This hath been a rejoicing of heart to all the " faithful of the land, and an assurance to them " that God would not forsake you; but after many " trials, which should but make you more precious, " as gold out of the fire, would restore your ma- " jesty unto your patrimony, and people, with more " splendour and dignity, and make you the glory " of kings, and the joy of your subjects; which is, " and shall ever be, the prayer of your majesty's " most loyal subjects, the commons of England " assembled in parliament."

Which letter was signed by sir Harbottle Grimstone, speaker.

As soon as this letter was engrossed and signed, sir John Greenvil was appointed to attend again; and he being brought to the bar, the speaker stood up, and told him, " that they need not acquaint " him with what grateful hearts they had received " his majesty's gracious letter; he himself was an " ear and eye-witness of it: their bells and their " bonfires had already begun the proclamation of

" his majesty's goodness, and of their joys; that " they had now prepared an answer to his majesty, " which should be delivered to him; and that they " did not think fit he should return to their royal " sovereign without some testimony of their re- " spects to himself; and therefore that they had " ordered five hundred pounds to be delivered to " him, to buy a jewel to wear, as an honour for " being the messenger of so gracious a message;" and in the name of the house he gave him their most hearty thanks. So great and sudden a change was this, that a servant of the king's, who, for near ten years together, had been in prisons, and under confinements, only for being the king's servant, and would, but three months before, have been put to have undergone a shameful death, if he had been known to have seen the king, should be now rewarded for bringing a message from him. From this time there was such an emulation and impatience in lords, and commons, and city, and generally over the kingdom, who should make the most lively expressions of their duty and of their joy, that a man could not but wonder where those people dwelt who had done all the mischief, and kept the king so many years from enjoying the comfort and support of such excellent subjects.

The lords and the commons now conferred together, how they might with more lustre perform those respects that might be preparatory to his majesty's return. They remembered, that, upon the murder of the late king, there was a declaration, that no man, upon peril of his life, and forfeiture of his estate, should presume to proclaim his successor; which so terrified the people, that they

dared not so much as to pray for him. Wherefore, though this parliament had now, by all the ways they could think of, published their return to their obedience, yet they thought it necessary, for the better information and conviction of the people, to make some solemn proclamation of his majesty's undoubted right to the crown, and to oblige all men to pay that reverence and duty to him, which they ought to do by the laws of God and of the land. Whereupon they gave order to prepare such a proclamation; which being done, the lords and commons, the general having concerted all things with the city, met in Westminster-hall upon the 8th of May, within seven days after the receipt of the king's letter; and walked into the palace-yard; where they all stood bare, whilst the heralds proclaimed the king. Then they went to Whitehall, and did the same; and afterwards at Temple-bar; where the lord mayor, and aldermen, and all the companies of the city received them, when the like proclamation was made in like manner there; and then in the usual places of the city; which done, the remainder of the day, and the night, was spent in those acclamations, festivals, bells, and bonfires, as are the natural attendants upon such solemnities. And then nothing was thought of, but to make such preparations as should be necessary for his majesty's invitation and reception. The proclamation made was in these words:

"Although it can no way be doubted, but that "his majesty's right and title to his crown and "kingdoms is and was every way completed by "the death of his most royal father of glorious "memory, without the ceremony or solemnity of a

" proclamation; yet, since proclamations in such " cases have been always used, to the end that all " good subjects might, upon this occasion, testify " their duty and respect, and since the armed vio- " lence, and other the calamities of many years " last past, have hitherto deprived us of any such " opportunity, whereby we might express our loy- " alty and allegiance to his majesty, we therefore, " the lords and commons now assembled in parlia- " ment, together with the lord mayor, aldermen, " and commons of the city of London, and other " freemen of this kingdom now present, do, ac- " cording to our duty and allegiance, heartily, joy- " fully, and unanimously acknowledge and pro- " claim, that immediately upon the decease of our " late sovereign lord king Charles, the imperial " crown of the realm of England, and of all the " kingdoms, dominions, and rights belonging to " the same, did, by inherent birthright and lawful " undoubted succession, descend and come to his " most excellent majesty Charles the Second, as " being lineally, justly, and lawfully next heir of " the blood royal of this realm; and that, by the " goodness and providence of Almighty God, he is " of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the " most potent, mighty, and undoubted king; and " thereunto we most humbly and faithfully do sub- " mit and oblige ourselves, our heirs, and posterity " for ever."

From the time that the king came to Breda, very few days passed without some express from London, upon the observations of his friends, and the applications made to them by many who had been very active against the king, and were now as

solicitous his majesty should know, that they wholly dedicated themselves to his service. Even before the general had declared himself, or the parliament was assembled, some, who had sat judges upon his father, sent many excuses, that they were forced to it, and offered to perform signal services, if they might obtain their pardon. But his majesty would admit no address from them, nor hearken to any propositions made on their behalf.

There was one instance that perplexed him; which was the case of colonel Ingoldsby; who was in the number of the late king's judges, and whose name was in the warrant for his murder. He, from the deposal of Richard, had declared, that he would serve the king, and told Mr. Mordaunt, "that he would perform all services he could, "without making any conditions; and would be "well content, that his majesty, when he came "home, should take his head off, if he thought fit; "only he desired that the king might know the "truth of his case;" which was this.

He was a gentleman of a good extraction, and near allied to Cromwell, who had drawn him into the army before or about the time when he came first to age, where he grew to be a colonel of horse, and to have the reputation of great courage against the enemy, and of equal civility to all men. It is very true, he was named amongst those who were appointed to be judges of the king; and it is as true, that he was never once present with them, always abhorring the action in his heart, and having no other passion in any part of the quarrel, but

his personal kindness to Cromwell. The next day after the horrid sentence was pronounced, he had an occasion to speak with an officer, who, he was told, was in the painted chamber; where, when he came thither, he saw Cromwell, and the rest of those who had sat upon the king, and were then, as he found afterwards, assembled to sign the warrant for the king's death. As soon as Cromwell's eyes were upon him, he run to him, and taking him by the hand, drew him by force to the table; and said, "though he had es-"caped him all the while before, he should now "sign that paper as well as they;" which he, seeing what it was, refused with great passion, saying, "he knew nothing of the business;" and offered to go away. But Cromwell and others held him by violence; and Cromwell, with a loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the pen between his fingers, with his own hand writ *Richard Ingoldsby*, he making all the resistance he could: and he said, "if his name there were compared "with what he had ever writ himself, it could "never be looked upon as his own hand."

Though his majesty had within himself compassion for him, he would never send him any assurance of his pardon; presuming that, if all these allegations were true, there would be a season when a distinction would be made, without his majesty's declaring himself, between him and those other of those classes, which he resolved never to pardon. Nor was Ingoldsby at all disheartened with this, but pursued his former resolutions, and first surprised the castle of Windsor, (where there

was a great magazine of arms and ammunition,) and put out that governor whom the rump had put in; and afterwards took Lambert prisoner, as is before remembered.

Whilst the fleet was preparing, admiral Mountague sent his cousin Edward Mountague to the king, to let him know that, as soon as it should be ready, (which he hoped might be within so many days,) he would be himself on board, and would then be ready to receive and obey his majesty's orders: this was before the parliament assembled. He sent word what officers he was confident of, and of whom he was not assured, and who he concluded would not concur with him, and who must be reduced by force. He desired to know whether the king had any assurance of the general, who, however, he wished might know nothing of his resolutions. And it was no small inconvenience to his majesty, that he was restrained from communicating to either, the confidence he had in the other; which might have facilitated both their designs. But the mutual jealousies between them, and indeed of all men, would not permit that liberty to his majesty.

The frequent resort of persons to Brussels, before they knew of the king's being gone to Breda, and their communication of the good news they brought to his majesty's servants, and the other English who remained there, and who published what they wished as come to pass, as well as what they heard, made the Spanish ministers begin to think, that the king's affairs were not altogether so hopeless as they imagined them to be, and that

there was more in the king's remove to Breda than at first appeared. They had every day expected to hear that the States had sent to forbid his majesty to remain in their dominions, as they had done when his presence had been less notorious. But when they could hear of no such thing, but of greater resort thither to the king, and that he had stayed longer there than he had seemed to intend to do, the marquis of Carracena sent a person of prime quality to Breda, "to invite "his majesty to return to Brussels; the rather, "because he had received some very hopeful pro- "positions from England, to which he was not "willing to make any answer, without receiving "his majesty's approbation and command."

The king sent him word, "that he was obliged, "with reference to his business in England, to "stay where he was; and that he was not without "hope that his affairs might succeed so well, that he "should not be necessitated to return to Brussels at "all." Which answer the marquis no sooner received, than he returned the same messenger with a kind of expostulation "for the indignity that would "be offered to his catholic majesty, if he should leave "his dominions in such a manner; and therefore "besought him, either to return himself thither, or "that the duke of York, and the duke of Glouces- "ter, or at least one of them, might come to "Brussels, that the world might not believe, that "his majesty was offended with the catholic king; "who had treated him so well." When he found that he was to receive no satisfaction in either of those particulars, though the king and both the

dukes made their excuses with all possible acknowledgment of the favours they had received from his catholic majesty, and of the civilities shewed to them by the marquis himself, he revenged himself upon don Alonzo with a million of reproaches, "for his stupidity and ignorance in the affairs of "England, and of every thing relating thereunto, "after having resided sixteen years ambassador in "that kingdom."

Cardinal Mazarine had better intelligence from the French ambassador in London; who gave him diligent accounts of every day's alteration, and of the general imagination that Monk had other intentions than he yet discovered. And when he heard that the king was removed from Brussels to Breda, he presently persuaded the queen mother of England to send the lord Jermyn (whom the king had lately, upon his mother's desire, created earl of St. Alban's) to invite the king "to come into "France; and to make that treaty, which, proba-"bly, would be between the ensuing parliament "and his majesty, in that kingdom; which might "prove of great use and advantage to her majesty's "interest and honour; in which the power of the "cardinal might be of great importance in divert-"ing or allaying any insolent demands which "might be made." And the cardinal himself made the same invitation by that lord, with professions of wonderful kindness; and "that the "most Christian king was infinitely desirous to "perform all those offices and respects to his "majesty, which he had always desired, but was "never able to accomplish till now;" with this addition, "that if his majesty found that the ex-

" pedition of his affairs would not permit him to " come to Paris, order and preparations should be " made for his reception at Calais, or any other " place he would appoint; where the queen his " mother would attend him;" with all other expressions of the highest esteem; which the sagacity of that great minister was plentifully supplied with.

The earl of St. Alban's found the king in too good a posture of hope and expectation, to suffer himself to be much importuned upon the instances he brought; and was contented to return with the king's acknowledgments and excuse, " that he " could not decently pass through Flanders, after " he had refused to return to Brussels; and with- " out going through those provinces, he could not " well make a journey into France." In the mean time it was no small pleasure to his majesty, to find himself so solemnly invited, by the ministers of these two great kings, to enter into their dominions, out of one of which he had been rejected with so many disobligations and indignities; and with so much caution and apprehension had been suffered to pass through the other, that he might not reside a day there, or spend more time than was absolutely necessary for his journey.

Several persons now came to Breda, not, as heretofore to Cologne and to Brussels, under disguises, and in fear to be discovered, but with bare faces, and the pride and vanity to be taken notice of, to present their duty to the king; some being employed to procure pardons for those who thought themselves in danger, and to stand in need of them; others brought good presents in English gold to the king, that their names, and the names of their

friends, who sent them, might be remembered amongst the first of those who made demonstrations of their affections that way to his majesty, by supplying his necessities; which had been discontinued for many years to a degree that cannot be believed, and ought not to be remembered. By these supplies his majesty was enabled, besides the payment of his other debts, not only to pay all his servants the arrears of their board-wages, but to give them all some testimony of his bounty, to raise their spirits after so many years of patient waiting for deliverance: and all this was before the delivery of the king's letter by the general to the parliament.

The king had not been many days in Breda, before the States General sent deputies of their own body to congratulate his majesty's arrival in their dominions, and to acknowledge the great honour he had vouchsafed to do them. And shortly after, other deputies came from the States of Holland, beseeching his majesty, "that he would grace that "province with his royal presence at the Hague, "where preparations should be made for his recep-"tion, in such a manner as would testify the great "joy of their hearts for the blessings which divine "Providence was pouring upon his head." His majesty accepting their invitation, they returned in order to make his journey thither, and his entertainment there, equal to their professions.

In the mean time Breda swarmed with English, a multitude repairing thither from all other places, as well as London, with presents, and protestations, "how much they had longed and prayed for this "blessed change; and magnifying their sufferings

"under the late tyrannical government;" when some of them had been zealous instruments and promoters of it. The magistrates of the town took all imaginable care to express their devotion to the king, by using all civilities towards, and providing for the accommodation of the multitude of his subjects, who resorted thither to express their duty to him. So that no man would have imagined by the treatment he now received, that he had been so lately forbid to come into that place; which indeed had not proceeded from the disaffection of the inhabitants of that good town, who had always passion for his prosperity, and even then publicly detested the rudeness of their superiors, whom they were bound to obey.

All things being in readiness, and the States having sent their yachts and other vessels, for the accommodation of his majesty and his train, as near to Breda as the river would permit, the king, with his royal sister and brothers, left that place in the beginning of May, and, within an hour, embarked themselves on board the yachts, which carried him to Rotterdam; Dort, and the other places near which they passed, making all those expressions of joy, by the conflux of the people to the banks of the river, and all other ways, which the situation of those places would suffer. At Rotterdam they entered into their coaches; from whence to the Hague they seemed to pass through one continued street, by the wonderful and orderly appearance of the people on both sides, with such acclamations of joy, as if themselves were now restored to peace and security.

The entrance into the Hague, and the reception

there, and the conducting his majesty to the house provided for his entertainment, was very magnificent, and in all respects answerable to the pomp, wealth, and greatness of that state. The treatment of his majesty, and all who had relation to his service, at the States' charge, during the time of his abode there, which continued many days, was incredibly noble and splendid; and the universal joy so visible and real, that it could only be exceeded by that of his own subjects. The States General, in a body, and the States of Holland, in a body apart, performed their compliments with all solemnity; and then several persons, according to their faculties, made their professions; and a set number of them was appointed always to wait in the court, to receive his majesty's commands. All the ambassadors and public ministers of kings, princes, and states, repaired to his majesty, and professed the joy of their masters on his behalf: so that a man would have thought this revolution had been brought to pass by the general combination and activity of Christendom, that appeared now to take so much pleasure in it.

The king had been very few days at the Hague, when he heard that the English fleet was in sight of Scheveling; and shortly after, an officer from admiral Mountague was sent to the king, to present his duty to him, and to the duke of York, their high admiral, to receive orders. As soon as Mountague came on board the fleet in the Downs, and found those officers more frank in declaring their duty to the king, and resolution to serve him, than he expected, that he might not seem to be sent by the parliament to his majesty, but to be carried by

his own affection and duty, without expecting any command from them, the wind coming fair, he set up his sails, and stood for the coast of Holland, leaving only two or three of the lesser ships to receive their orders, and to bring over those persons, who, he knew, were designed to wait upon his majesty; which expedition was never forgiven him by some men, who took all occasions afterwards to revenge themselves upon him.

The duke of York went the next day on board the fleet, to take possession of his command; where he was received by all the officers and seamen, with all possible duty and submission, and with those acclamations which are peculiar to that people, and in which they excel. After he had spent the day there, in receiving information of the state of the fleet, and a catalogue of the names of the several ships, his highness returned with it that night to the king, that his majesty might make alterations, and new christen those ships which too much preserved the memory of the late governors, and of the republic.

Shortly after, the committee of lords and commons arrived at the Hague; where the States took care for their decent accommodation. And the next day they desired admission to his majesty, who immediately received them very graciously. From the house of peers were deputed six of their body, and, according to custom, twelve from the commons. The peers were, the earls of Oxford, Warwick, and Middlesex, the lord viscount Hereford, the lord Berkley of Berkley-castle, and the lord Brook. From the commons were sent, the lord Fairfax, the lord Bruce, the lord Falkland, the lord Castleton,

the lord Herbert, the lord Mandevil, Denzil Hollis, sir Horatio Townsend, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, sir George Booth, sir John Holland, and sir Henry Cholmeley. These persons presented the humble invitation and supplication of the parliament, "that "his majesty would be pleased to return, and take "the government of the kingdom into his hands; "where he should find all possible affection, duty, "and obedience, from all his subjects." And lest his return so much longed for might be retarded by the want of money, to discharge those debts, which he could not but have contracted, they presented from the parliament the sum of fifty thousand pounds to his majesty; having likewise order to pay the sum of ten thousand pounds to the duke of York, and five thousand to the duke of Glocester; which was a very good supply to their several necessities. The king treated all the committee very graciously together, and every one of them severally and particularly very obligingly. So that some of them, who were conscious to themselves of their former demerit, were very glad to find that they were not to fear any bitterness from so princely and so generous a nature.

The city of London had had too great a hand in driving the father of the king from thence, not to appear equally zealous for his son's return thither. And therefore they did, at the same time, send fourteen of the most substantial citizens "to "assure his majesty of their fidelity, and most "cheerful submission; and that they placed all "their felicity, and hope of future prosperity, in "the assurance of his majesty's grace and protec-"tion; for the meriting whereof, their lives and

" fortunes should be always at his majesty's dis-
" posal;" and they presented to him from the city the sum of ten thousand pounds. The king told them, " he had always had a particular affection for " the city of London, the place of his birth; and " was very glad, that they had now so good a part " in his restoration; of which he was informed; " and how much he was beholding to every one of " them;" for which he thanked them very graciously, and knighted them all; an honour no man in the city had received in near twenty years, and with which they were much delighted.

It will hardly be believed, that this money presented to the king by the parliament and the city, and charged by bills of exchange upon the richest merchants in Amsterdam, who had vast estates, could not be received in many days, though some of the principal citizens of London, who came to the king, went themselves to solicit it, and had credit enough themselves for much greater sums, if they had brought over no bills of exchange. But this was not the first time (of which somewhat hath been said before) that it was evident to the king, that it is not easy in that most opulent city, with the help of all the rich towns adjacent, and upon the greatest credit, to draw together a great sum of ready money; the custom of that country, which flourishes so much in trade, being to make their payments in paper by assignations; they having very rarely occasion for a great sum in any one particular place. And so at this time his majesty was compelled, that he might not defer the voyage he so impatiently longed to make, to take bills of exchange from Amsterdam upon

their correspondents in London, for above thirty thousand pounds of the money that was assigned; all which was paid in London as soon as demanded.

With these committees from the parliament and from the city, there came a company of their clergymen, to the number of eight or ten; who would not be looked upon as chaplains to the rest, but being the popular preachers of the city, (Reynolds, Calamy, Case, Manton; and others, the most eminent of the presbyterians,) desired to be thought to represent that party. They entreated to be admitted all together to have a formal audience of his majesty; where they presented their duties, and magnified the affections of themselves and their friends; who, they said, "had always, according "to the obligation of their covenant, wished his "majesty very well; and had lately, upon the op- "portunity that God had put into their hands, in- "formed the people of their duty; which, they "presumed, his majesty had heard had proved "effectual, and been of great use to him." They thanked God "for his constancy to the protestant "religion;" and professed, "that they were no ene- "mies to moderate episcopacy; only desired that "such things might not be pressed upon them "in God's worship, which in their judgment "who used them were acknowledged to be mat- "ters indifferent, and by others were held un- "lawful."

The king spoke very kindly to them; and said, "that he had heard of their good behaviour to- "wards him; and that he had no purpose to im-

" pose hard conditions upon them, with reference " to their consciences: that they well knew, he " had referred the settling all differences of that " nature to the wisdom of the parliament; which " best knew what indulgence and toleration was " necessary for the peace and quiet of the king- " dom." But his majesty could not be so rid of them; they desired several private audiences of him; which he never denied; wherein they told him, " the Book of Common Prayer had been " long discontinued in England, and the people " having been disused to it, and many of them " having never heard it in their lives, it would be " much wondered at, if his majesty should, at his " first landing in the kingdom, revive the use of it " in his own chapel; whither all persons would " resort; and therefore they besought him, that he " would not use it entirely and formally, but have " only some parts of it read, with mixture of " other good prayers, which his chaplains might " use."

The king told them with some warmth, " that " whilst he gave them liberty, he would not have " his own taken from him: that he had always " used that form of service, which he thought the " best in the world, and had never discontinued " it in places where it was more disliked than he " hoped it was by them: that, when he came into " England, he would not severely inquire how it " was used in other churches, though he doubted " not, he should find it used in many; but he was " sure he would have no other used in his own " chapel." Then they besought him with more

importunity, "that the use of the surplice might "be discontinued by his chaplains, because the "sight of it would give great offence and scandal "to the people." They found the king as inexorable in that point as in the other; he told them plainly, "that he would not be restrained himself, "when he gave others so much liberty; that it "had been always held a decent habit in the "church, constantly practised in England till these "late ill times; that it had been still retained by "him; and though he was bound for the present "to tolerate much disorder and undecency in the "exercise of God's worship, he would never, in the "least degree, by his own practice, discountenance "the good old order of the church, in which he "had been bred." Though they were very much unsatisfied with him, whom they thought to have found more flexible, yet they ceased further troubling him, in hope, and presumption, that they should find their importunity in England more effectual.

After eight or ten days spent at the Hague in triumphs and festivals, which could not have been more splendid if all the monarchs of Europe had met there, and which were concluded with several rich presents made to his majesty, the king took his leave of the States, with all the professions of amity their civilities deserved; and embarked himself on the Prince; which had been before called the Protector, but had been new christened the day before, as many others had been, in the presence, and by the order, of his royal highness the admiral. Upon the four and twentieth day of

May, the fleet set sail; and, in one continued thunder of cannon, arrived near Dover so early on the six and twentieth, that his majesty disembarked; and being received by the general at the brink of the sea, he presently took coach, and came that night to Canterbury; where he stayed the next day, being Sunday; and went to his devotions to the cathedral, which he found very much dilapidated, and out of repair; yet the people seemed glad to hear the Common Prayer again. Thither came very many of the nobility, and other persons of quality, to present themselves to the king; and there his majesty assembled his council; and swore the general of the council, and Mr. Morrice, whom he there knighted, and gave him the signet, and swore him secretary of state. That day his majesty gave the garter to the general, and likewise to the marquis of Hertford, and the earl of Southampton, (who had been elected many years before,) and sent it likewise by garter, herald and king at arms, to admiral Mountague, who remained in the Downs.

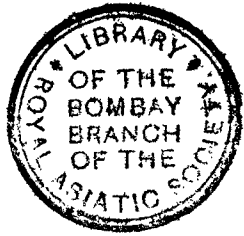
On Monday he went to Rochester; and the next day, being the nine and twentieth of May, and his birthday, he entered London; all the ways from Dover thither being so full of people, and acclamations, as if the whole kingdom had been gathered. About or above Greenwich the lord mayor and aldermen met him, with all such protestations of joy as can hardly be imagined. And the concourse was so great, that the king rode in a crowd from the bridge to Temple-bar; all the companies of the city standing in order on both sides, and giving loud thanks to

God for his majesty's presence. And he no sooner came to Whitehall, but the two houses of parliament solemnly cast themselves at his feet, with all vows of affection and fidelity to the world's end. In a word, the joy was so unexpressible, and so universal, that his majesty said smilingly to some about him, "he doubted it had been his own fault "he had been absent so long; for he saw nobody "that did not protest, he had ever wished for his "return."

In this wonderful manner, and with this miraculous expedition, did God put an end in one month (for it was the first of May that the king's letter was delivered to the parliament, and his majesty was at Whitehall upon the twenty-ninth of the same month) to a rebellion that had raged near twenty years, and been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of parricide, murder, and devastation, that fire and the sword, in the hands of the most wicked men in the world, could be ministers of; almost to the desolation of two kingdoms, and the exceeding defacing and deforming the third. Yet did the merciful hand of God in one month bind up all those wounds, and even made the scars as undiscernible, as, in respect of the deepness, was possible; which was a glorious addition to the deliverance; and if there wanted more glorious monuments of this deliverance, posterity would know the time of it, by the death of the two great favourites of the two crowns, cardinal Mazarine and don Lewis de Haro, who both died within three or four months, with the wonder if not the agony of this

undreamed of prosperity; and as if they had taken it ill that God Almighty would bring such a work to pass in Europe without their concurrence, and against all their machinations.

THE END OF THE LAST BOOK.



Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 08 January, 2019